

People's 人民中国 China

December 1, 1950

China's Voice at World Peace Congress

— Kuo Mo-jo

The "Sun of Happiness" Is Rising In Tibet

— Yu Shah

Into the Boots of Japanese Imperialism

— C. C. Fang

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Vol. II

Supplement: *Statements on the Illegal MacArthur
Report and Diplomatic Notes on Tibet*

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PEACE WILL CONQUER WAR !

The Second World Peace Congress at Warsaw has given mankind an historic programme of action to defend peace. By their establishment of the World Council of Peace, by their manifesto and proposals to enable the United Nations to fulfil the hopes placed in it by the peoples, and by their call to end the war in Korea, these representatives of 80 nations have manifested the resolute demand for peace of all people of good will.

No government that sincerely wants peace for the people can refuse to support these just, reasonable and feasible demands.

Backed by the over 500 millions who signed the Stockholm Peace Appeal, these demands represent the vital interests of all mankind.

The Chinese people have expressed their firm support for the activities and resolutions of the World Peace Congress. They are ready to work under the leadership of the World Peace Council. Over 223,000,000 of them have signed the peace appeal. They demand their place at the U.N. precisely to enable it to fulfil its work for peace. In face of the grave threats to peace in Asia, they have given substantial testimony of their will to peace.

The flames of war already lick the borders of China. The U.S. imperialists have invaded Korea. Their wanton destructiveness and atrocities, and the atrocities of their puppets and allies — for which they and their British and other satellites cannot escape responsibility — sicken the conscience of mankind. The U.S. imperialists have seized the Chinese island of Taiwan and sent their fleet, reinforced by their accomplices, to protect the remnant Chiang Kai-shek clique there; U.S. planes have violated China's northeastern frontiers to bomb and strafe the people. America also interferes against the democratic movement in Viet-Nam.

China knows that these are all parts of a single strategic plan to smash the national liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies, to attack the vital centres of human freedom and achieve American world domination.

The Chinese people have therefore reacted to these threats to peace in the Far East with resolute action. In a major contribution to the cause of peace and to check the spread of war, the Chinese people's volunteers fighting alongside the deathless patriots of Korean People's Army have already given pause to the armies of the U.S. gangsters who have run amok in Korea. The PLA is now marching to liberate Tibet, re-unite it with the mother country, and prevent it from ever again being used as a nest of imperialist intrigue or a springboard of aggression

against the rest of China or the USSR. Steps to liberate Taiwan, solemn warnings to the French colonialists against further outrageous intrusions across the Viet-Nam-China border, full support of the Soviet Union's note on the illegal release of Japanese war criminals by MacArthur and the intensified activity of the whole people in peaceful construction — all these are part of the contribution of the Chinese People's Republic to the fight for peace, to defeat any aggression and preparations for aggressive war.

As the frustrated warmongers are forced the more fully to expose their vile purposes to the world, and as they extend the scope of their adventurist acts, it becomes ever more clear that the fight against aggression is the fight for peace. Unless the flames of war are smothered, wherever they are kindled they will spread. The present action of the Chinese volunteers is of crucial importance for peace throughout the world. They have thwarted the insolent attempt of the warmongers to use the Hitler method of attacking their victims one by one while preventing the peace-loving forces by lies, threats and blackmail from giving timely aid to each other.

It is not to be imagined that either the Korean or the Chinese people will permit themselves to be thrust back into the bloody hell of colonialism. The Japanese fascists suffered catastrophe in their attempt to subjugate these countries. But if the lesson of history is not enough for their U.S. successors, they will certainly get some further practical instructions of the type they have already received.

Before they further rouse the anger of the great 475,000,000 Chinese people, let the U.S. imperialists pause at the thought that, unless they withdraw now, and permit a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, they have already committed several scores of thousands of their troops to a protracted war in Korea. And it would be as well for the U.S. satellites in Downing Street and elsewhere to consider whether their servility to their American masters is leading them.

The Chinese volunteers and the KPA are in the front line of the struggle for world peace. If the U.S. aggressors were to succeed in their adventure here, they would be encouraged to try the same technique in any other place of their own choosing.

But the initiative is in the hands of the peace forces. This is the message of the Warsaw Congress, inspired by the calm confidence of Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, and their refusal to be diverted from their peaceful purposes by repeated provocations of the warmongers around

their borders. This is the forbearance of strength born of confidence in the millions of men and women who detest war and who want to build, not destroy.

With this mighty support the World Peace Congress speaks with authority, reinforcing the confidence of partisans of peace the world over.

"Let us join our efforts and demand an end to the war which is devastating Korea today and which threatens to set the whole world aflame tomorrow! It is useless to wait for peace — peace must be won!"

Peace can be won by the united strength and initiative of the peoples. Peace shall be won.

The Trumans, Churchills, Attlees and Bevins know well the attractive force of such an appeal to the reason, conscience and vital interests of mankind. That is why they strove so hard and so basely to prevent the holding of this congress for peace.

But the will of the people for peace cannot be thus frustrated. The Congress was held with even greater publicity for its aims in Warsaw.

The effort for peace, however, must be sustained. It must not be thought that a victory for the peace forces on one front alone will deter the warmongers. Feverishly re-arming the remnant forces of fascism in Western Germany and Japan, they are preparing new adventures in Europe as well as in Asia. But each new victory for peace serves to mobilise and consolidate the peace forces. The peace front headed by the great Soviet Union is already stronger than the imperialist camp. Each new victory for peace will still further increase that superiority until the unleashing of another world war becomes too risky a gamble even for such inveterate gamblers as those of Wall Street.

Free Tibet from Imperialist Intrigues

The greatest elation has been aroused throughout China by the news of the progress made in the liberation of Tibet. The Tibetans themselves show their joy by the enthusiastic support they give to the People's Liberation Army on its march to Lhasa. At long last, Tibet will be freed from imperialist interference and exploitation.

Balked of their prey, the imperialists are making last minute attempts to obstruct this act which will complete the liberation of continental China. The hostile moves by the Anglo-American bloc in recent weeks in regard to Tibet have naturally been co-ordinated with the other campaigns of slanders and aggressions by the American warmongers in Korea, Taiwan, Viet-Nam and elsewhere in Asia. Even to the Roof of the World, Washington pursues its now well advertised plot of encirclement against the Chinese People's Republic.

The American imperialists have instigated one of their pocket satellites — El Salvador — to bring what they call the "question" of Tibet before the United Nations. No words need be wasted on the Salvadorean "proposals," if only because such an attempt flagrantly violates Articles II of the United Nations Charter prohibiting intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states. One may recall, however, that this is not the first time the ruling clique of El Salvador has conspired against the Chinese people for the sake of a few dollars. In 1934, the El Salvador marionettes "recognised" the Japanese puppet state of "Manchukuo" and described this outrageous act as "purely a matter of business, an outgrowth of El Salvador's acute need of new markets for her coffee."

In effecting the liberation of Tibet, the Central People's Government is exercising its sovereign rights over its own territory. It will, therefore, tolerate no interference in this from any quarter. It

is of course not surprising that the aggressive Anglo-American bloc shows their fangs over liberation of an area which these blood-thirsty warmongers were aiming to develop as a base for renewed aggression against China, but it would be most regrettable if any Asian nation laying claim to independence of action, should be so misled as to attempt to obstruct the Chinese people in fulfilling their sacred task of emancipating Tibet.

As the Central People's Government of China showed by its patience in awaiting the Tibetan peace delegates, it appreciates the fact that because of its proximity, India naturally desires to see peace reign in Tibet, but equally, India should appreciate the fact that the speedy liberation of Tibet from the orbit of imperialist intrigues will, in the first place, guarantee security and peace in Tibet. China is, therefore, reluctant to believe that India might lend herself to the sinister Anglo-American influences now working against the legitimate interests of the Chinese people.

We cherish the friendship that has been developing with the Indian people who are also struggling for complete emancipation from imperialist intrigues. If China hopes and believes that India will not become, in regard to Tibet, a cat's paw of the Anglo-American imperialist bloc against China, it is because the Chinese people have faith in the value of the costly lessons that both peoples have learnt from the oppressions of the imperialists. It is also because the Chinese people believe that India will understand that it is to their mutual interests, as it is of all Asian nations and progressive peoples, that imperialism should be ended forever in Asia. All those truly desirous of peace will hail the heroic PLA marching to fulfil its historic mission of liberation in the very heart of Asia which will deprive the imperialists of yet another base of the projected encirclement of China.

MANIFESTO TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

— Adopted by the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw —

War threatens mankind — children, women and men. The United Nations is not justifying the hopes placed in it by the peoples of maintaining peace and tranquillity. The lives of people and the achievements of human culture are in danger.

The peoples are willing to hope that the United Nations will resolutely turn back to those principles on which it was created after the Second World War in order to ensure freedom, peace and mutual respect among nations. But the peoples of the world rely still more upon themselves, upon their own determination and good will. It is clear to every sensible person that whoever states that "war is inevitable," slanders mankind.

In reading this message of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw, adopted on behalf of the peoples of 80 countries, remember that the struggle for peace is your own vital interest, know that hundreds of millions of champions of peace unite to stretch out their hands to you and call upon you to take part in the most noble struggle ever waged by mankind, firmly confident of its outcome.

It is useless to wait for peace — peace must be won. Let us unite our efforts and demand the termination of the war which is devastating Korea today and which threatens to set the whole world aflame tomorrow.



DEUXIÈME CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

Let us oppose the attempts to kindle war again in Germany and in Japan.

In unity with 500 million people who have signed the Stockholm peace appeal we demand: Prohibition of the atomic weapon, universal disarmament and control over these measures. It is technically possible to secure strict control over universal disarmament and destruction of atomic weapons. All that is necessary is the will to do it.

Let us compel the adoption of laws which make war propaganda a punishable offence. Let us present our proposals for the defence of peace — drawn up by the Second World Peace Congress — to members of our parliaments, to our governments and to the United Nations.

United, the peace forces in all countries are strong enough, the voices of the people of the world are loud enough to insist on bringing about the meeting of representatives of the Five Great Powers.

The Second World Peace Congress has proved more forcefully than ever before that people from all parts of the globe can agree among themselves in spite of differing viewpoints to avert the disaster of war and to maintain peace.

Let governments act in the same way and the cause of peace will be saved.

CHINA'S VOICE AT WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

Kuo Mo-jo

Our Chinese delegation and the delegations of other countries of the East have travelled over 10,000 kilometers in order to reach Europe. Originally, we intended to go to Sheffield and shake hands with the British people. This was not possible. However, we are now welcomed in Warsaw.

Even in the East we have heard about the existence of some kind of "iron curtain." However, on our way from Siberia to Eastern Europe we saw no iron curtain. It is only over the English Channel that we eventually discovered it.

The British government in fact has prevented the peoples of various countries from meeting the British people. The British government, because it is afraid of peace, has put obstacles in the way of the peace movement. There is, however, nothing strange about this action from the viewpoint of the peoples of the East. Indeed, at present, in our part of the world, the aggressive bloc headed by American imperialism has passed beyond the stage of simply creating obstacles in the way of the peace cause to the direct violation of peace itself, from war cries to aggression itself. The adventurous aggressive war of the American imperialists in Korea has already approached the Chinese-Korean frontier. The United States of America, simultaneously with its aggression in Korea, seized our island of Taiwan. Its planes have in addition invaded our Northeast, the coastal areas of Shantung Province, and Shantung Province itself, wantonly strafing and bombing our territory. The United States of America openly interferes in the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Viet-Nam, the Philippines and other countries in Southeast Asia and ruthlessly suppresses this struggle.

"Favours" of the "Good American Friends"

The American imperialists who are all the while planning aggression and interference in the internal affairs of other states, hypocritically declare that other states are carrying out aggression. Thus, they presumptuously assert that the Koreans are carrying out aggression on Korea, that the Chinese are carrying out aggression on the Chinese island of Taiwan. Thus, the American imperialists set themselves up as the "saviours of peace." They call their aggression moral assistance, and their establishment of world domination — a favour.

This is a condensed translation of the report made at the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw, on November 13, by Kuo Mo-jo, head of the Chinese Peace Delegation.

Thus, if you are speaking of the defence of peace and security, they also speak of the "defence of peace and security." If you are speaking of fighting for freedom and democracy, they also speak of "fighting for freedom and democracy," and in so doing they contend that only their freedom and democracy are genuine while yours are a sham.

Messrs. Truman and Acheson recently stated, — didn't they — that they were good friends of the peoples of the East. You see, they claim that not only are they good friends but great saviours of the peoples of the East as well!

For 50 years our country was the victim of the continuous aggression of Japanese imperialism. After eight years of a strenuous defensive war, we finally succeeded in routing the Japanese imperialists.

In the early part of the difficult Anti-Japanese War, the first and only country to help us was the Soviet Union. What was the United States of America doing then? During that period, it traded with the Japanese, selling them huge quantities of scrap metal, petrol, cotton and equipment, thereby enabling the Japanese to massacre our people and causing us inestimable losses in manpower and property. This is what the "good American friends" call a "great favour."

After Japan's surrender, the Chinese people longed for peaceful construction. But the American imperialists supported the Kuomintang gangsters in every way. They did everything to help Chiang Kai-shek, providing him with planes, guns, tanks, warships, dollars and equipment, and American military surplus material. They secured, with Chiang Kai-shek's help, special privileges on land, sea and in the air which grossly violated our sovereignty. They manoeuvred Chiang Kai-shek into unleashing a civil war and dooming the Chinese people to four more years of sufferings. This indeed was what the "good American friends" call a "great favour."

And now, is it not the "good American friends" who still support Chiang Kai-shek? Is it not these same "good American friends" who, having been routed on China's mainland, grabbed our island of Taiwan and advanced their so-called defence line to the Taiwan Strait? Japanese imperialism is our sworn enemy. Nevertheless, protected and nurtured by the "good American friends," Japanese imperialism is rapidly reassuming its warlike countenance. This is what the "good American friends" call a "great favour."

Lording it over the United Nations, the United States of America, converting the United Nations into its own private domain, is utilising the United Nations as a mask for its own criminal actions. The United States supports the Chiang Kai-shek representative in the United Nations as the representative of the Chinese people, although he is not supported by a single Chinese. The United States stubbornly refuses to grant the People's Republic of China the right to send the legal representative of the Chinese people to the United Nations. This is what the "good American friends" call a "great favour."

Of course, the "good American friends" may arrogantly say, "We respect the use of democratic methods for settling questions, all United Nations decisions are based on the principle of the subordination of the minority to the majority." All right, then. If we take figures, however, we shall easily expose the American voting machine. The total population of states which are members of the United Nations is 1,850 millions. If the decision of the majority is to be respected, is it not necessary while voting to take into account the size of the population represented by the vote? Yet Chiang Kai-shek's delegate, who represents only himself and

a handful of reactionaries, has a vote in the United Nations whereas the 475 million people of the Chinese People's Republic have none. And this is called the democratic method for settling questions.

The American imperialists desecrate the United Nations. Thus, by their criminal aggressive actions in Korea they have made of the United Nations flag a rag to hide their shame. This is indeed a monstrous insult to 1,850 million people.

American aggressive troops have already crossed the 38th Parallel, seized Pyongyang and Wonsan and approached the bank of the Yalu River. American planes daily bomb peaceful towns and villages in North Korea, machine-gunning the civilian population — old people, women and children. Moreover, they have repeatedly crossed the Yalu River, and barbarously bombed and strafed our Northeast and Shantung Province. This is precisely what the "good American friends" call a "great favour" to the peoples of the East.

Naturally, we speak here of the American imperialists and not of the American people. The American people are as peace-loving as the peoples of other countries, as peace-loving as the Chinese

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STATEMENT OF CHINESE PEACE DELEGATION

The Chinese Delegation at the close of the World Peace Congress has made the following statement:

The Second Peace Congress has emerged with a victory of tremendous historic significance. It fully manifested the solid determination of all the people of good will to defend peace and the unity and consolidation of the world camp of peace.

In the Congress, two thousand and more delegates have freely and widely exchanged opinions on the defence of world peace and have jointly worked out a resolution for preventing war and defending peace. This will further broaden the world camp of peace and serve as a powerful guarantee that peace will defeat war.

The Chinese people firmly support the manifesto of the Second World Peace Congress and its appeal to the United Nations. They firmly support the Congress resolutions on the banning of atomic weapons and carrying out of the general armaments reduction, on the prohibition of war propaganda, on the strengthening and increasing of economic and cultural exchange between nations and on the fixing of a definition of aggression. The people of China are willing to work under the leadership of the World Peace Council just established, and will unite ever more closely

with the people of all other countries in the fight to stop war and defend peace.

We maintain that the aggressive war of the United States government in Korea must be stopped immediately. The invading forces of the United States and her underlings must be completely withdrawn from Korea at once and the Korean question should be solved by peaceful means based on the free will of the Korean people.

We consider that the condemnation of MacArthur by the majority of the delegates to the Peace Congress vividly expresses the common will of all the peace-loving people throughout the world.

The Congress' demand for the immediate withdrawal of American invading forces in Taiwan fully conforms with the hopes and desires of the people in China as well as in other parts of the world.

Only participation of representatives of the People's Republic of China, with its population of 475 millions, in the United Nations will make it possible for the international organ to carry out its supreme task of defending world peace and security.

After the Congress, we believe the world peace movement will enter a new stage. The people of various countries should follow the spirit of this Congress and unite as one in their common struggle. Peace is sure to conquer war.

The "Sun of Happiness" is Rising in Tibet

Yu Shah

There is an ancient parable in a Tibetan scripture that foretells of the coming of a new life out of the far north, a life without exploitation, injustice, sorrow or fear. People will live in plenty and this new life will spread over the whole world and then there will be no war. The sun of happiness, it says, will shine forth over the land and the club of sorrow will be cast forever into the waters.

Sorrow and oppression have indeed been the lot of the Tibetan people. Tibet is not the Shangri-la of romancers. It is a land of serfs, of poverty and illiteracy. Nomad cattle breeding and, in the south, agriculture are the principal pursuits. Modern industry is almost non-existent and the abundant natural resources hardly touched. Because of its position, it has long been the target of imperialist oppression and intrigue. And foreign interference helped to hold back the forces of progress.

Over the past two centuries, British imperialism and, more recently, American imperialism have worked and schemed to wrest this part of China from its mother country; they imposed their influence there with the aid of backward forces and in recent years prepared to use it as a base for their designs on China and the Soviet Union.

Yet, despite all their efforts, the close unity of Tibet with the rest of China has withstood all trials. And now Tibet is being re-united with its motherland. What some British geographers call "the Dead Heart of Asia" is pulsing with renewed life. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is overcoming seemingly impossible difficulties and bringing liberation and a new life to the Tibetan people. The Tibetan people are taking their future into their own hands and ridding themselves of the vicious influence of British and American imperialism.

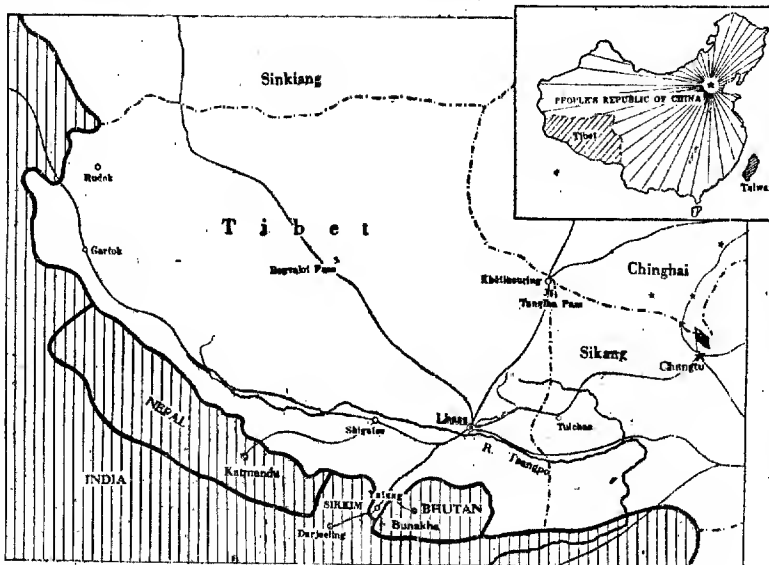
As early as 461 A.D., the marriage of the Tibetan ruler to a princess of China drew the two kingdoms close. To this day in Lhasa stands a pillar of stone on which is

carved the treaty made between the rulers of Tibet and China in the eighth century, "uniting their kingdoms." When Kublai Khan, successor to the legendary Genghis Khan, became Emperor of China in the 13th century, Tibetans were ranked as second of the four classes of subjects in China. He entrusted the administration of Tibet to the head lama of the monastery of Sa-Kya. The title of "Dalai" Lama, given to the political head of the Buddhist church, is in fact a Mongol title. But the central Chinese government controlled the collection of taxes through its ambans, or local governors, and endorsed the appointment of the Dalai Lama.

In modern times, a number of international agreements embody the recognition of China's sovereignty in Tibet. Both Britain and Tsarist Russia, for example, acknowledged Tibet to be part of China when they signed the agreement of 1907. Even at the Conference of Simla in 1913, when the British forced the Chinese delegation to sign a draft agreement involving serious encroachment on China's sovereignty in Tibet, the British dared not declare the severance of Tibet from China. And though the Chinese government was under Yuan Shih-kai who had treacherously accepted the notorious 21 Demands of the Japanese imperialists, yet it disavowed its representatives and did not ratify the Simla draft agreement, so great was the anger of the Chinese people.

On the founding of the Republic of China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen declared immediately that the Tibetan people were among the five major nationalities of China, and Tibet remained part of China even during the corrupt rule of Chiang Kai-shek. The present Dalai Lama was appointed by government and arrived in Lhasa in 1940, accompanied by a Chinese escort. In a letter to the Chinese Government in 1945, the British Foreign Minister clearly recognised that in international law Tibet is part of China.

Representatives of Tibet were present at the People's Political



Map of Southwest China Showing Tibet

Consultative Conference in Peking in 1949. They took part in the declaration of the People's Republic of China and in the drawing up of the Common Programme which instructed the new People's Government to "liberate all the territory of China and accomplish the task of unifying China."

It is not only politically that the Tibetans are linked with China. Communication in economic, cultural and religious life has never been interrupted. Caravans cross the deserts and mountain ranges with hides from inner Tibet to the provinces of Sikang, Sinkiang and Chinghai to receive in exchange cloth, tea and other goods. Many Tibetan lamas live in Sikang, Szechuan and other provinces. The Chinese and Tibetan languages have much in common. Buddhism found its way along the routes from Tibet and spread through China.

In fact, Tibet has never been isolated from the rest of China. The reputation for isolation that Tibet still has in foreign countries results from the deliberate political policy adopted in the 19th century as a defence against the grasping hands of foreigners, particularly the British. It was an isolation from foreign intrusion alone.

British Intrigues

Hitler learned much from the methods of the British imperialists towards countries which they wished to grab. In Tibet, too, ever since Warren Hastings began to push British interests, after the conquest of India and Burma, British imperialism used all its armoury of wiles and brutality to subdue the area. It sent in armies, made offers of trade, fomented strife among various groups of Buddhist priests and, above all, strove to foster in Tibet an antipathy towards China, using reactionary circles to put forward demands for so-called "independence."

In 1790, the Gurkhas of Nepal, who had invaded Tibet with British encouragement, were driven out by a joint force of Chinese and Tibetans. It was clear to the Tibetans that they were now to be exposed to all kinds of new pressures. They agreed to close their frontiers and allow all foreign questions to be dealt with directly by the ambans.

By the end of the 19th century, despite all their efforts, including military invasion in 1888, Britain only succeeded in annexing Sikkim and Bhutan, south of the Himalayas. But in 1904, taking advantage of the Russo-Japanese War, British troops under Colonel Younghusband invaded in strength, well knowing that now the Manchu government in Peking was too weak to protect the Tibetans.

The Tibetans put up a stiff resistance. They fought heroically with their matchlocks and spears, but could not withstand the British guns. Killing, pillaging and burning their way forward, destroying many monasteries, the British expedition arrived in Lhasa, travelling by routes carefully spied out for them by missionaries, explorers and merchants. Large quantities of invaluable curios and precious articles, as the *London Times* described later, were

removed to grace the residences of the British colonialists in India.

But the Tibetans were never subdued. The expedition could not maintain itself in Lhasa. Britain was forced in 1906 to renounce the "treaty" imposed

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PROCLAMATION ON TIBET

Here is the main part of a proclamation issued jointly by the Southwest Military and Administrative Committee and the PLA Southwest Military Command on Nov. 9, 1950:

"With serious concern for the people of Tibet, who have suffered long years of oppression under the American and British imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary government, Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central People's Government and Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh of the People's Liberation Army ordered the PLA troops to enter Tibet for the purpose of assisting the Tibetan people to free themselves from oppression forever.

"All the Tibetan people, including all lamas, should now create a solid unity to give the PLA adequate assistance in ridding Tibet of imperialist influence and establishing regional self-government for the Tibetan people. They should, at the same time, build fraternal relations, on the basis of friendship and mutual help, with other nationalities within the country and together construct a new Tibet within New China.

"With the entry of the PLA into Tibet, the life and property of Tibetan lamas and people will be protected. Freedom of religious belief will be safeguarded, and lama temples will be protected. Assistance will be rendered to the Tibetan people in the direction of developing their educational, agricultural, pastoral, industrial and commercial enterprises, and their living conditions will be improved. No change will be made in the existing administrative and military systems of Tibet. The existing Tibetan troops will become a part of the national defence forces of the People's Republic of China. All lamas, officials and chieftains may remain at their posts. Matters relating to reforms in Tibet will be handled completely in accordance with the will of the Tibetan people and by means of consultation between the Tibetan people and the Tibetan leaders. Pro-imperialist and KMT officials, concerning whom there is definite evidence that they had severed relations with the imperialists and KMT and who will not carry out any sabotage or put up resistance, may remain at their posts irrespective of their past history."

Into the Boots of Japanese Imperialism

C. C. Fang

When Japanese imperialism capitulated to the United Nations in 1945, the Asian peoples had high hopes of achieving their just demands for national liberation. They had contributed no small measure of blood and treasure to that victory. The older imperialist Powers — Britain, France and the Netherlands — were too exhausted to resume immediately their "White Man's Burden."

But no sooner had the instrument of Japanese surrender been signed than Asia found that the representatives of Wall Street had stepped into the jack-boots of Japanese imperialism.

In South Korea, the Philippines, Indo-China, Indonesia and Malaya, the great hope of early liberation was shattered by imperialist repressions financed, co-ordinated and, to a large extent, armed by the U.S.A. But, like their Japanese predecessors, the Americans concentrated their major effort against China and, like them too, it was here that they suffered their biggest defeat. The U.S.-sponsored Chiang Kai-shek regime was, in U. S. Secretary of State Acheson's own words, "repudiated by the Chinese people."

The establishment of the Central People's Government on October 1, 1949, ended that chapter of American intervention in China. The people's nation-wide victory smashed the immediate U.S. hope of dominating China's strategic bases and resources through the hands of its KMT puppet.

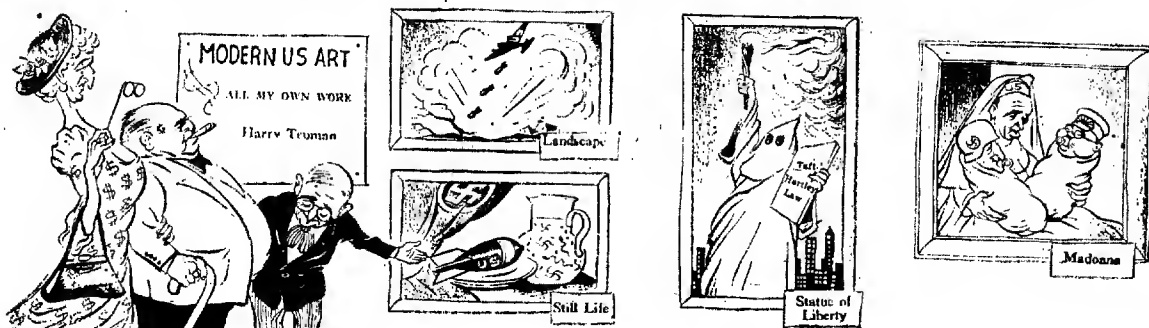
The events of the last year, however, have shown that American imperialism is loathe to give up the major aim in Asia. Thus, the record of post-war U.S. imperialism in regard to China is well worthwhile recapitulating at this stage because it reveals some of the typical methods of American imperialism. It shows with what malevolent cunning and doggedness it has pursued its aims and why the defeat of its favourite lackey has now forced it to carry out its aggression openly with its own troops and such of its satellites as it can muster.

By V-J Day, the democratic elements in China led by the Chinese Communist Party — the backbone of the resistance movement — had grown into a powerful force in a territory with a population of over 100 millions. It was, therefore, clear to the reactionaries that imperialist rule could only be restored over all China, if the Chinese Communist Party were destroyed together with the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and their auxiliaries — the armed forces of the people.

The Choice is Ours — Acheson

In the U.S. State Department's White Paper of August, 1949, Acheson mentions three alternatives for U.S. policy towards China in this post-war period: "(1) it could have pulled out lock, stock and barrel; (2) it could have intervened militarily on a major scale to assist the Nationalists destroy the Communists; (3) it could, while assisting the Nationalists to assert their authority over as much of China as possible, endeavour to avoid a civil war by working for a compromise between the two sides."

The U.S. chose the second alternative under the guise of the third. In order "to destroy the Communists" — who at the time of the Japanese surrender led the population of an area stretching from the Northeast to Central China and a considerable part of South China and Hainan Island — it was necessary to move the Chiang Kai-shek troops as quickly as possible to take over major centres direct from the Japanese and "inherit" these bases for the coming all-out offensive against the popular forces. Time was against them, so the Americans had recourse to a characteristically base political trick. The Liberated Areas were invited to a conference to "discuss matters of national importance." U.S. Ambassador Hurley himself flew to Yenan to press the invitation. But, as Chiang Kai-shek later made clear, this invitation was a gesture aimed only to gain time for deployment of his attacking troops. The failure of negotiations, which he could of course



Picture Gallery of a Warmonger

later at Shanghai and Tientsin. U.S. forces extended their operations to Nanking and other major cities as well as along important sections and at junctions of the Shanghai-Nanking and Peking-Suiyuan Railways. A large American force with trains, planes and artillery virtually controlled Peking. U.S. officers were attached to all of Chiang Kai-shek's forward units in the capacity of "advisers."

Including naval forces and marines, the U.S. forces participating in the civil war on Chiang Kai-shek's side numbered over 113,000 men. More American troops were deployed in China after the end of the war with Japan than at any time when the battle against the Japanese fascists was at its height. And yet throughout this early period of preparation for civil war, the Americans were telling the world that they were "mediating" between the Liberated Areas and the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship, that they had no intention of "getting involved" and so forth.

The U.S. war-time Chief-of-Staff General Marshall was at this time in charge of this "mediation" in China. It was he who authorised the turning over of huge U.S. war surplus stores to Chiang and the despatch of new arms from the United States. It was he who negotiated the Truce Agreement between the People's Armies and the KMT which excluded from its operations the Northeast where the U.S. had assisted Chiang to move up an overwhelmingly large and well equipped force. Marshall helped to drag out Chiang's phoney peace and truce negotiations for months while U.S. armaments and supplies poured in for the KMT armies. The U.S. imperialists calculated that once the people's forces were destroyed in the Northeast, the KMT could make short work of the People's Army south of the Great Wall. The Americans correctly estimated the strategic importance of the Northeast, but it was not the People's Army, but Chiang Kai-shek who was kicked out of the Northeast. This defeat was decisive for the outcome of the People's War of Liberation.

Seldom in the whole history of imperialism has a power poured out so much treasure and suffered so resounding a defeat. In the few years between the Japanese surrender and Chiang's expulsion from

(Continued on Page 29)

By Lu Si-an

Victory on the Cotton Front

Su Tuan

With steady gains reported all along the nation's economic front, the rehabilitation and development of the cotton industry was to be expected. Nevertheless, the speed and degree of rehabilitation have been impressive even for New China. Set goals have been met and even surpassed. Just as the People's Government successfully solved the much mooted problem of China's food shortages, by encouraging production among the enthusiastic liberated peasantry, so has it tackled the problem of raising production in the cotton industry. Results have been so encouraging that the day is now in sight when each one of China's 475 millions will have enough to wear.

According to the latest estimates, 700,000 tons of ginned cotton have been harvested this autumn. The goal set by the government early in 1950 for this year was 650,000 tons. Figures for the present year outstrip the average yield for the five years preceding the Anti-Japanese War when the area planted to cotton was largest. This means that China's textile mills are in the main assured of adequate supplies of raw materials. And this will also reduce urban unemployment.

It was in April of this year — at the time when the cotton planting season was about to start — that the All-China Federation of Labour called for emergency help for 100,000 jobless workers in Shanghai. One reason for this unemployment was the difficulties which the textile mills, the most important Shanghai industry, faced through lack of raw materials. Many of the spinning and weaving shops which once worked day and night were forced to operate on reduced shifts. Some mills suspended operations altogether.

This distressing situation was not peculiar to Shanghai. Textile mills in other cities faced the same problem. Of the 5,200,000 spindles which China has, about 4,200,000 were then in operation. But the ginned cotton was far from sufficient to feed all these spindles.

The cotton industry, like other Chinese industries, was until recently semi-colonial in nature in its dependence on foreign sources for raw materials and markets. Figures in the following table show how China in the past depended on foreign cotton, chiefly American, to run its textile industry.

YEAR	IMPORT Metric Tons
1931-36 (annual average)	139,739.33
1937-45 " "	78,620.00
1946-48 " "	164,046.53
1949	51,627.40

In the early part of 1950, a small amount had to be imported until New China's first cotton harvest

could be gathered. This year, with the cotton harvest estimated at 700,000 tons, the problem of an adequate supply of raw cotton is nearing solution. This means that the textile mills, as well as a number of other industries connected with spinning and weaving, can face the future on a sound basis. With the foreign exchange saved as a result of the sharp reduction of cotton imports, it will be possible to purchase machines to speed up the country's industrialisation.



When the Central People's Government drew up its overall plan for agricultural production at the beginning of 1950, many people thought that the target of 650,000 tons of ginned cotton was too high.

To fully appreciate what the completion and over-fulfilment of this target means, the results must be viewed against the terrible destruction which war brought to the cotton-growing areas and the deliberate KMT-planned disasters, such as the breaching of dykes.

During the five years immediately preceding the Anti-Japanese War, the average cotton output was approximately 638,000 tons per year. But it dropped steadily until 1949 when the total harvest was only 425,000 tons.

This was due, first of all, to the dumping of imported cotton and the resulting low price for home-grown cotton. For one pound of cotton in 1936, a peasant could buy 11 pounds of millet. But this ratio fell drastically in the years from 1938 to 1943 until it reached 1:5. At this point, it was simply not worth the farmers' while to plant cotton. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, the KMT threw the market wide open to the Americans. The bureaucratic capitalists, moreover, bought whatever cotton the peasants still grew at arbitrarily low prices. The result was that the area planted to cotton shrank rapidly.

Another reason for the sharp decrease in the size of the cotton-growing area was the food shortage caused by the protracted war. Without enough grain to eat, the peasants had to reduce the area planted to cotton so that more food could be raised.

In addition to all this, there were war-time shortages of manpower and draught animals, frequent floods, droughts and plagues of pests. Then, too, there was a breakdown of trade between the countryside and the cities. It was, therefore, not strange that the total cotton yield as well as the output per hectare diminished each year. In Shensi, for example, the cotton-growing area was reduced by 65 per cent during the past five years.

In the new society emerging after liberation we have an altogether different situation. Targets set by the overall national plan were increased by the local governments and then expanded further by the farmers themselves at the time of sowing. The harvested areas for cotton this year is estimated at around 3,373,000 hectares, or 12 per cent above the government target.

Why has there been this victory? Why have the farmers been enthusiastic about growing cotton? Why, for example, has the cotton area in Hopei Province increased from 660,000 hectares last year to 980,000 this year? And why has the area planted to cotton in Northeast China increased by 280 per cent since liberation — larger than the record cotton area under Japanese occupation?

The reasons for the victory are found in the following factors:

(1) The War of Liberation being practically completed, peasants have been released from war-time duties. With land reform already carried out in the old liberated areas and rent reduction in the newly liberated areas, peasants have shown a new zeal for production. And this enthusiasm has raised their production levels.

(2) In addition to the general enthusiasm and higher political consciousness resulting from the government's overall policy, the Central People's Government has paid special attention to the establishment of a reasonable ratio between cotton and grain prices in order to raise the peasants' interest in planting cotton. The planting of cotton has been made more profitable than the planting of grain. In some areas, contracts were drawn up between farmers and state trading companies, whereby the former were guaranteed manufactured goods in advance of payment against the cotton harvest. The government has also announced that cotton, as well as grain, can be used to pay agricultural taxes in-kind.

(3) In sharp contrast to the KMT, the People's Government has seriously tackled the water conservancy problem. The anti-flood campaign was on a vast scale. In building dykes and canals alone, 360,000,000 cubic metres of earth were moved. Com-

petent water conservancy work has gone a long way in securing the present cotton harvest.

Then, too, the People's Government set up more special experimental farms and nurseries for cultivating selected cotton seeds; it provided farmers with insecticides, sprayers and fertilisers, imported good quality seeds and distributed them to all cotton areas. The equivalent in value of 30,000 tons of grain was invested in such undertakings.

(4) Lastly, the cadres and Party members assigned to work in cotton areas worked at their jobs tirelessly. In key areas they organised teams of experts to direct the farmers in cotton growing, they utilised newspapers and pamphlets to praise model cotton-growers and publicise various planting experiences. They patiently convinced the peasants of the need and advantages of growing cotton.

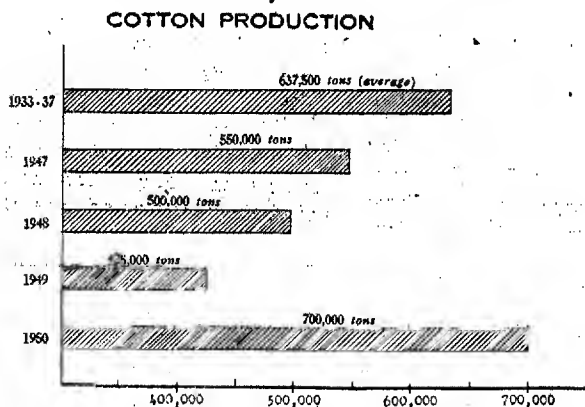
The results have indeed been striking. The broad cotton belts in the vast basins of the Yellow and Yangtse Rivers, on the great plains of the Northwest, and in Northeast China, are a delight to the eyes of a cotton farmer. The average yield per hectare is expected to come close to the best pre-war level of 194 kilograms of raw cotton per hectare.

Some 16.4 per cent of the total area under cotton has been planted with the 'long staple' variety, which previously was always imported from abroad. This has now been introduced into every cotton-growing area in China.

Though achievements on the cotton front have been great, there is still a big task ahead before supply can wholly satisfy demand. For the demand for cotton is rising steadily as the living conditions of the people improve. The increased demand for cotton is shown on the example of the Northeast where 800,000 bolts of cloth were used in 1947, 1,200,000 in 1948, and 3,200,000 in 1949. In 1950, it has been estimated that the people of the Northeast will want over 9,000,000 bolts of cloth.

To produce one bolt of cloth, 5.25 kilos of raw cotton are needed. The population of the Northeast is about one-twelfth of the total population. Thus, if the people's demands in the Northeast are taken as a standard, at least 600,000 tons of ginned cotton will be needed to supply the textile industry alone. If other uses for cotton, such as medical and chemical uses, padded clothes and quilts, and so on, are taken into consideration, at least 900,000 tons of ginned cotton will be needed to meet these needs.

As it is, the present 700,000 tons of ginned cotton will, generally speaking, be adequate to keep the country's textile industry running for a whole year. But naturally more than just this is needed. And this goal, too, is within reach. A Three-Year Plan has already been worked out laying special emphasis on the selection of seeds and on increasing the yield in every unit area. By 1953, cotton experts expect that China will not only be in a position to fully meet her own needs, but will have a surplus for export to meet the needs of others.





Our Writers at the Peace Congress

In the field of literature—a poet, essayist, novelist, playwright, critic and translator of the first order; in the field of science—a highly regarded historian and archaeologist; a daring revolutionary, a skilled organiser, an eloquent orator noted for the beauty of his language and his diction—such is Kuo Mo-jo, a man of parts, the leader of China's delegation to both the First and Second World Peace Congresses.

A non-party member of the People's Political Consultative Conference that founded the People's Republic, Kuo Mo-jo was immediately appointed to the post of Vice-Premier of the Central People's Government. It was an appointment that, among other things, reaffirmed the age-old regard that China has for literature.

Kuo Mo-jo was born in Szechuan in 1892, and received a strictly classical early education, but as soon as he had the choice, he decided to take up the study of medical science. He went to Japan, and it was while he was studying anatomy there that he began to read Heine, Turgeniev, Spinoza and Goethe and started to write and translate. He never followed his profession, though he graduated as a doctor, but threw himself into literary work and the lively art controversies of the day.

Art for the People

The literary Creation Society he founded was dedicated at first to "art for art's sake." But he soon saw through this self-deception and became one of the staunchest protagonists of "art for the people." The Creation Society thereafter exerted a considerable influence over the youth of the day. At this time, he published *The Goddess*, his first collection of poems (1921), and many prose writings and translations including *Faust* (1920).

In 1923, the Great Revolution swept him up in its tide. He took

part in the Northern Expedition as a director of revolutionary propaganda. Then the Chiang Kai-shek counter-revolution and terror forced him to escape abroad, and for the next ten years he lived in Japan. Under the watchful eyes of the Japanese police, he turned his political activities into a new sphere. He translated Marx's *Critique of Political Economy* and *German Ideology*. These studies gave him a deeper understanding of the materialist conception of history and aided him in his work *Researches into Ancient Society*. Seeking further source material, he probed into the hieroglyphs on ancient oracle bones and bronzes, delving deeper than any of his contemporaries into the structure and character of ancient Chinese society.

Then came the Japanese invasion of China in 1937. Kuo Mo-jo immediately returned home to take his place in the leadership of the People's United Front against the aggressor. As Director of the Cultural Bureau of the Political Ministry, he saved many treasures of China's cultural heritage and encouraged and organised the patriotic efforts of writers and artists.

It was at the time when defeatism and reaction finally completely dominated the KMT and split the United Front that he produced his series of six historical plays, including *Chu Yuan*, that infused a new quality into contemporary theatrical art and heartened all progressives in the KMT-controlled areas. In 1943, he published two new profound books: *The Bronze Age* and the *Ten Critiques* of the philosophers of the Chow and Ching times, Confucius, Mencius, Mo-tse, Chuang-tsu and others.

Returning in 1945 from a visit to the Soviet Union, he arrived in Chungking in time to take part in the peace negotiations between the

KMT and the Chinese Communist Party. He also participated in the January 1946 All-Party Political Consultative Conference that met to formulate the terms of peace.

Fight for Peace

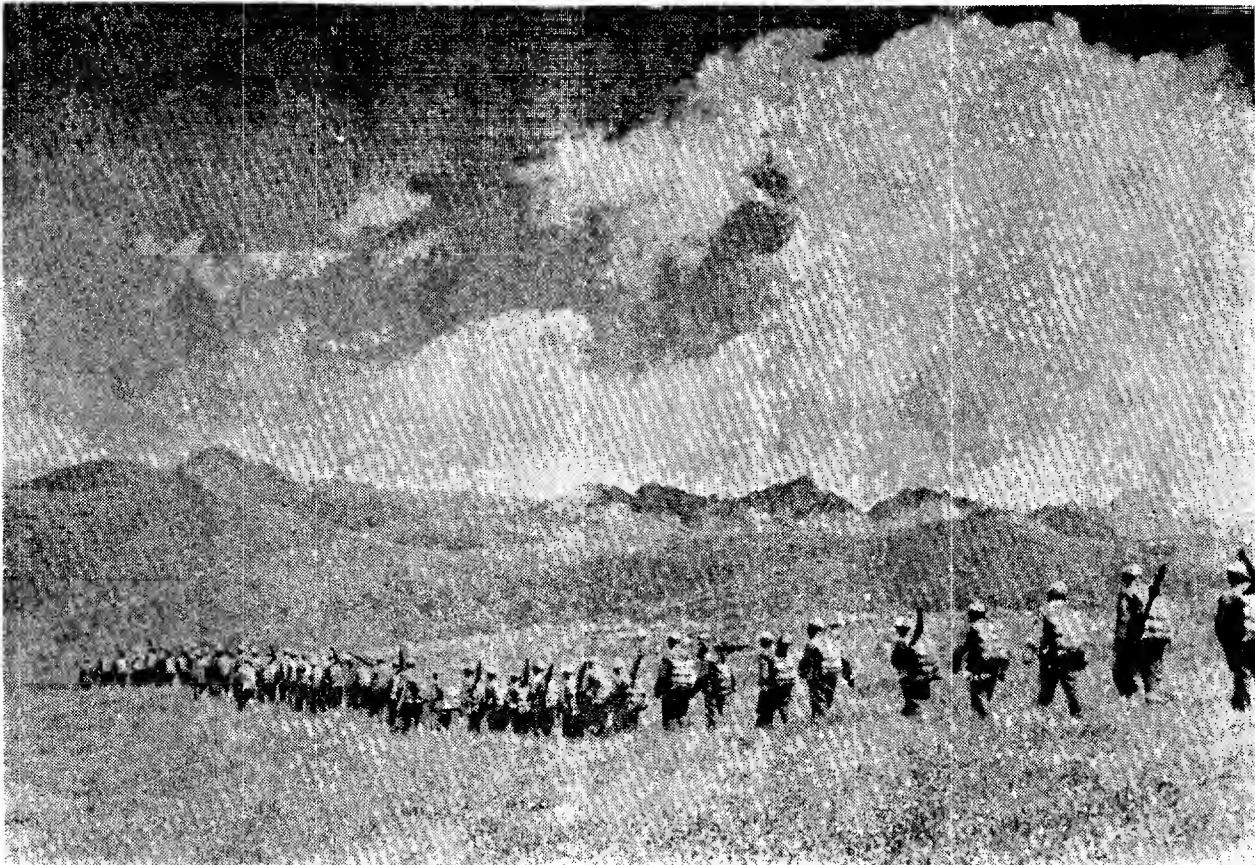
Leading the great mass rally in Chungking that celebrated the holding of this conference and its work for peace, Kuo Mo-jo, together with other democrats, was attacked by KMT thugs. When the KMT launched the civil war, he again succeeded in escaping to Hongkong, from whence he reached the Liberation Areas. Following the formation of the People's Government, he was concurrently appointed Chairman of the Cultural and Educational Committee of the Government, President of the Academia Sinica, and was elected Chairman of the All-China Association of Writers and Artists.

He has taken part in many international conferences, served his people on many special commissions. He recently led the people's mission to fighting Korea. And he still finds time to inspire and personally encourage many of the young writers and artists of New China.

* * *

On this latest mission of peace to the Second World Peace Congress, he has been accompanied by the novelist Pa Chin, noted for his short stories and for his long trilogy on the break-up of the big family system, the search of ardent young intellectuals grown out of such a family for the truth, and their merging with the revolutionary working class. Three poets also comprise part of the delegation: Emi Siao, who is internationally known as a partisan of peace; Feng Nai-chao; and Yuan Shui-pei, who is also a song and ballad writer of great popularity.

PLA MARCHES INTO TIBET



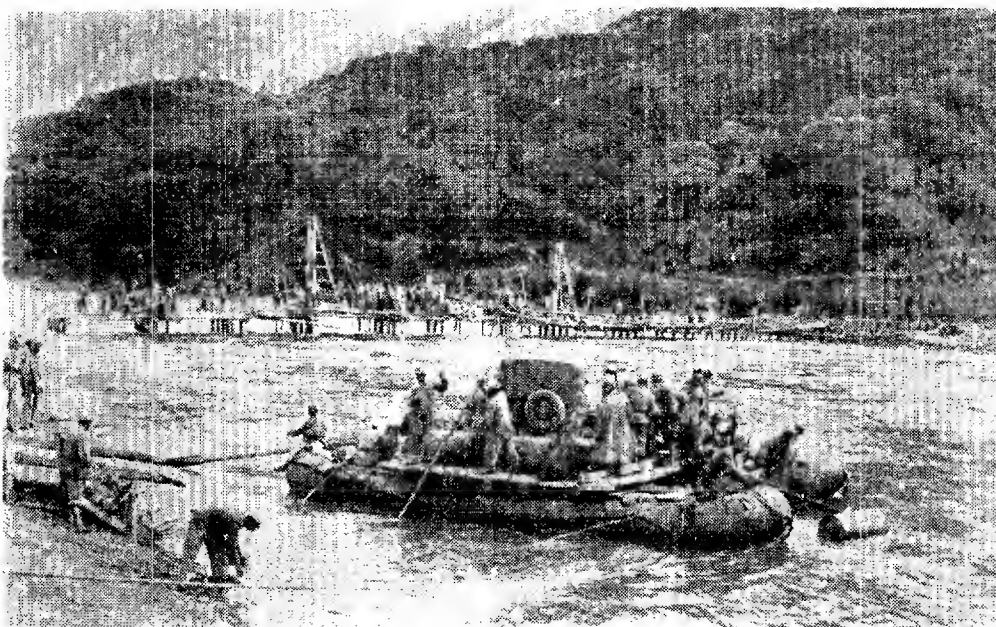
The PLA started its long-awaited march into Tibet in October to help the Tibetan people rid themselves of imperialist oppression and institute regional self-government.



Tibetans of the Sikang-Tibet plateau welcome the PLA. As their banners show, they pledge themselves to give the People's Army every possible support.



A convoy of the People's Liberation Army on its way towards Tibet.



PLA men move equipment across a river while a bridge is being built.



Tibetan nomad language to 1



Lamas welcome the PLA, an army which respects their religious freedom, customs and habits.



... teach their native
... of the PLA.



A PLA doctor gives medical treatment to Tibetan
villagers near Changtu, liberated on October 19.

Aid Korea, Protect Our Fatherland



Students of the College for Mongolians and Tibetans in Peking voice their determination to go to resist the American aggressors in Korea.



"The American and KMT bandits shall not take the land from me!" says a peasant volunteer in suburban Peking.



Workers of the Peking Farm Tool Factory sign a letter to Chairman Mao, offering their aid to Korea.



Students of the People's University in Peking give a rousing send-off to a volunteer.

Transformation of a Mill

Chow Hsueh-sheng

Over the gate the signboard says, "China Textile Corporation, Tientsin No. 2 Factory." From the road you can hear the hum of machinery, the rattle of looms and whir of spindles. Looking through the gate, you catch an occasional glimpse of a woman worker—for most of the state-owned plant's 5,000 workers are women—scurrying across the courtyard in her white apron. But what attracts your attention most is a huge board, placed just inside the gate, and painted on it lines that curve upward, lines that mean more cotton from each of the 98,000 spindles, more cloth from each of the looms, and beside it the notice board on the wall, crammed with cartoons, challenges and competition results—"No. 2 Team beats No. 7 by 50.17 yards to 49.10" and "Honour Model Worker Liu."

You go up to the board. Those figures up there. You would scarcely believe it possible if you'd stood on the same spot less than two years ago, when Tientsin's liberation was already certain and the workers were organising to prevent KMT looting and damage. And if you'd been there thirty years before, in 1919, when the factory, founded by the Northern Warlords, was first opened, you'd have said those curving lines and the statements they make were preposterous, a nonsensical dream. Yet those figures—that rise of cloth from 40 yards to 46.96 yards on the same loom in the same time—were made by some of the very same men and women who endured thirty years of near-slavery, who loitered and slacked and sabotaged in reprisal against harsh, oppressive conditions.

It was in 1936 that the factory was sold to the Japanese. Conditions under the Northern Warlords, rulers of the Hopei plains, had been bad. Under the Japanese they were worse. The new supervisors were more skilled in indus-

trial technique and industrial exploitation. They could detect defective work at a glance. They didn't hesitate to pay the workers wages which would only keep them for ten days out of the month, and drive theft to cover the other twenty days' expenses. Nor did they hesitate, when the workers turned to theft as the only way out, to have their guards search them as they went off work and to torture anyone found stealing, even to the extent of having trained dogs tear their underwear down and standing them, men and women, naked at the factory gate.

Nine years later, in 1945, the factory fell into the hands of the Kuomintang. There were three months of idleness before production started again, months during which the workers had to fend for themselves. Then production began again, yet with an accompanying oppression worse than any they had experienced under the Japanese.

For now they were under bureaucrats who knew nothing of industry, whose only concern was for profits, and whose only method to get production out of mill workers was to set them under secret service agents, petty racketeers and gang bosses—all hired not for any technical knowledge they had, but for their experience in "controlling" workers and extracting more yard and cloth, more work, from them by threats and terrorism. The company trade union was only another extension of this, another means to control the workers in the interests of a bureaucratic management devoted to quick profits and speculative markets.

The workers themselves counted for nothing. In sickness they were neglected, in trouble they were disregarded. Useful as creators of wealth, they were carefully prevented from sharing in their own creation. And lest there should be any semblance of unity between

staff and workers to threaten the disunity upon which corruption thrived, the divisions between staff—whose rolls were padded with the management's friends, relatives and political off-siders—and workers were encouraged and nurtured. The one group rode to and from work in a specially-provided bus. The other walked. The one could enter and leave the plant freely. The other, going and coming, must stop and be subjected to an ignominious search. The one looked down on the workers as dirty manual labourers. The other contemptuously named the staff the bosses' "dog legs."

If management had any policy, it was: "Divide and rule. Give nothing. Get what you can." From this calculated chaos the factory was liberated by the PLA on January 15, 1949.

Liberation Brings Stability

To bring in order, however, was not easy. Fears and suspicions deliberately spread by KMT elements in the months before liberation had to be allayed. Some said, "New officials will be like any former other officials. What difference will you find between KMT and the Communist? What does either care for the worker?"

On January 16, the day after the PLA entered the plant, meetings were held throughout the factory. Activists, PLA representatives and Communist Party members talked to groups of workers, explaining the all-important task of putting the factory to work again. The co-operation of many was won. Next day, most reassuring and settling sight of all, thick black smoke coiled up from the tall factory chimney once more. The first round had been won.

With work resumed, production had to be raised. Urgent and inevitable as reorganisation of the factory was, temporarily and for

the sake of production, no basic changes in personnel or operation were made. Only those few whose crimes had been gross and serious were dismissed. The rest stayed.

But such oppression of the workers could not continue. Wage inequities were adjusted by computing wages in terms of corn-flour, the staple food, so that the average worker's wage rose from the equivalent of 90 catties of corn-flour a month to 350. Moreover, to provide incentive, wages were tied to output, and as production increased, pay-checks grew fatter. The old trade union of the factory was dissolved immediately and replaced by one democratically organized and elected, and the union was able to give emergency welfare relief to any worker in need of it.

The effect of these measures was felt at once. They brought to No. 2 Mill a hitherto unknown stability within a few weeks. And this stability, in turn, was the first step in the transformation of the mill from a bureaucratic capitalist concern to a New Democratic enterprise.

Overcoming Obstacles

The next step was to raise the workers' political and technical level. This was imperative if real productive energies were to be released and the factory was to work in harmony. In May, five months after Liberation, the textile mill began to introduce the system of democratic factory management, designed to meet these needs, with the organization of a management committee to which the workers elected their own representatives.

Many difficulties faced the new committee. They came firstly from the activities of the rag-tag reactionary elements through whom bureaucratic capital had once ruled the workers. In order to preserve the enterprise as an integral whole at the time of Liberation, the government policy had allowed many of these elements, reactionary foremen and supervisors, to remain at their old posts. It was not long before some of them began slyly to sabotage production. To the

authorities they would use high-sounding phrases, while to the workers they would say, "Those PLA bumpkins, they can't do without the likes of us." They found excuses to transfer politically active workers to old and worn-out machines, and when their output fell, they would hold them up to ridicule. If such a worker protested, they would accuse him of violating "labour discipline."

By subterfuge, certain of the supervisors edged back into their old positions of dominance over the workers. The workers themselves were confused. There was a strong undercurrent of dissatisfaction. "How," one of the workers asked, "can we be liberated with these old fellows still in charge?"

A mass movement against the reactionary foremen and supervisors was then started, a movement, however, directed along the lines of criticism and re-education. Workers were encouraged to raise criticism at a whole series of meetings held by every department. The results were hopeful. Most of the reactionary elements agreed to change their ways, and went off together with some of the activists to attend training classes in basic Marxism, the class derivation of their old concepts, working style and New Democracy.

At the same time, five workers, well-liked by their fellow-workers and each with 20 or more years of experience, were promoted to be technicians in charge of certain departments. The mill's engineers gave them special training courses in their new duties. And these promotions from among their own group, coupled with the attack on the old forces, were a great encouragement to other workers.

Of all the old supervisors, only one refused to admit his mistakes. He was sent home for two months to reconsider the matter thoroughly. When he returned, however, he still clung to his old ways, and the mill had no option but to dismiss

him. Immediately, production in the department he once controlled went up by one yard per loom per work shift.

Division Among Employees

Another major obstacle which faced the committee was the division between the technical and clerical staff on the one hand and the workers on the other. These two groups had to be brought together. Technique could no more be divorced from labour than theory from practice.

The KMT's counter-revolutionary propaganda had had more effect on the staff than on the workers. The staff felt more reassured after Liberation, but antagonisms between the two groups persisted, though the forms they took were different. While in the old days the workers looked on these people as the bosses' "dog legs" or "orderlies," the staff's contempt for the workers was now tempered a little by fear. "The workers may have become the leading class, but what do they know about mathematics or any of the sciences?" some thought to themselves. Others thought opportunism more profitable, flattering the workers, accepting all their suggestions, even the unwise ones. Because of this, the factory inspection system grew very lax and production suffered.

To overcome these divisions, staff members and workers were brought together in small groups to talk out their differences. Activists, Party and trade union representatives stressed that the technical staff was really part of the broad working class and would be accepted by that class once their attitudes changed. Joint meetings of technicians, supervisors and workers considered production problems, and mutual respect increased. Some of the staff were astonished at the valuable suggestions workers made on the basis of their long practical experience. The workers, for their part, were grateful for suggestions from the staff which improved production methods, many of which led to better working conditions and higher incomes.



By May, 1950, when the three-month city-wide production drive was inaugurated, the growing unity between staff and workers was evident. Even backward workers were drawn into the production drive, which not only raised the general political level of all the workers but also led to a real release of latent initiative and creativeness among them.

Throughout the preceding month, the factory was busy with preparations. Production norms were worked out in detail, not simply for departments and sections but for each machine. Individual and collective targets were agreed upon through group discussions. Competition regulations were outlined. All those surpassing a given norm were to be awarded yellow flags while those with still higher achievements were to be honoured red flags. A sum equal to 20 per cent of the factory payroll was set aside for special monetary awards.

The main emphasis of the campaign was placed upon rationalising production in such a way as to save labour, cut costs and raise quality. During the drive, the workers proposed a total of thirty-four major rationalisations which save the factory large sums of money. One worker suggested that worn-out spindles be turned upside down, given a special finish and be used again, thus making use of thousands of high-speed steel spindles which might otherwise have been cast away. Others suggested certain improvements in the looms which resulted in higher quality cloth.

From this time on, to see workers and technicians talking over technical problems was a common sight. Supervisors found workers no longer resented inspection of their output. On the contrary, workers now demanded the strictest inspection, for otherwise how could their work qualify for an award? One technician, amazed at the change, said, "Why, you'd be hated for inspecting before Liberation. After Liberation, activists remonstrate with you if you

don't. And the women workers — they shout 'lazy bones' at you, if you don't give their work frequent and careful inspection."

As the workers came to feel more and more that the factory was theirs, they developed a sharper interest in the activities of the leaders. They became quick to notice any evidences of bungling, negligence or incompetence and they criticised immediately, lest the set-back affect overall production. Workers now understood the practical value of mathematics, science and technical training and demanded that facilities be made available for them to study these subjects and raise their technical level. Many new classes were opened for them with highly skilled workers and technical experts as teachers.

At a later stage in the campaign, the workers developed a system of signing inter-departmental contracts for the delivery of semi-processed goods. These contracts, specifying the quality, quantity and time of delivery, minimised delays caused by lack of materials, and better planning was possible.

In terms of heightening the workers' political consciousness, uniting all sections of the factory and developing democratic management, the campaign was a success. In terms of hard statistics, too, it was a success. Cloth production, for example, which in April, a month before the campaign, reached 143,578 bolts, rose to 155,840 bolts by July. In the same period, the percentage of first-grade cloth increased from 97.62 to 98.49. While average production per loom in KMT days never exceeded 40.5 yards per loom for a 10-hour shift, it reached 46.96 yards in July, 1950.

The production drive, spearheaded in the factory by the Democratic Management Committee, also had the effect of strengthening the whole system of democratic management. The committee adopted its present form — 13 members, comprising the factory director, three engineers, a representative from the Tientsin Military Administration Council, the chairman of the factory's trade union, two secretaries of the factory branches



of the Communist Party and New Democratic Youth League, and five representatives elected among the workers.

At monthly meetings, director and top officials of the mill reported to a large number of elected workers' representatives. These in turn reported to the entire factory personnel. And through these meetings the leadership could criticise their own shortcomings and could receive the criticisms of the rank-and-file. Here was a channel for democratic control, making of the many little groups, each with its private interests, one working unit with united aim and united strength.

* * *

And that big board inside the factory's gate, it means many things, not just production increases. It means the workers have come to understand that in this state-owned plant they are the masters, and democratic factory management is management by the workers. It means that workers and technicians, supervisors and clerks, are working as one body, and the artificial divisions and old hostilities are breaking down. It means that labour is no longer a heavy task forced on men and women with whips and clubs, but a conscious act of creation to be taken up with enthusiasm.

As you turn from the board to leave, some of the workers are going off shift. One, Lao Chen, calls out across the courtyard. "Are you leaving? Wait! I'm going too." Together you go out of the gate. "Hey", he exclaims, "don't you notice anything?" "Well . . ." "Why, they don't search us any more! You remember the former days, every morning and evening? But we've put an end to that too. Buddha, they say, must have incense, but man must have dignity."

Why Chang Yi-yuan Volunteered For Korea

Chiao Yu-jen

The courtyard of the big cement works not far from Peking was alive with movement. One shift of workers was clocking on and exchanging quips with others who were coming off work. The huge chimney belched a thick brown smoke. A train fully loaded with bags of cement whistled shrilly as it moved off.

To Chang Yi-yuan, it was part of his everyday life. I could see, as he had shown me round, that he knew this place inside out and loved it. I had just asked him why he had volunteered to fight in Korea and he had paused before he replied.

"It's not easy for me to tell you," he finally answered. "I think you'll only fully understand if I tell you something of my life in the past. That, and our life today, is what decided me." He deliberated as he looked around the works.

"I've been here ever since it was built by the Japs ten years ago. Same kilns, same boiler, same buildings and even many of the same men. But what a difference now!

"Ten years ago, we were recruited by the Japanese not as workers, but slaves, real slaves. All the foremen and skilled workers were Japanese, let alone the technicians. They beat us. We earned starvation wages, scarcely enough to keep alive. But there was no choice.

"Before I came here I was a tenant. I drudged for the landlord year in, year out, I couldn't save a catty of grain. So, you see, it was all the same; a slave on the farm or in the factory. When I looked into the future I could see nothing but darkness.

"Then the KMT came. For us it was just the same as before, if not worse. Those gangsters didn't know what they were doing at all. They spoiled the machines and turned everything into mess. Half the workers were sacked. It takes us one month today to produce

what they turned out in a year. So when Peking was liberated, we refused to leave with the KMT, though we didn't really expect much change. We were too much in the dark.

"But this time, things turned out different. About the middle of December, a military man dressed in plain cotton-padded clothes turned up at our factory. He told us to keep the factory in good order and gave us an hour's political lesson every day. This was how we began to learn what was happening. He told us starvation and unemployment would never trouble us again. He said we were the masters of the factory now. It was all strange to us at first.

"By April 15 last year, production was going ahead. Many of our workers who had been dismissed by the KMT returned to the factory. This impressed me more than anything else. 'The Communists are not telling lies, they give us work,' I thought.

No. 1 Kiln

"On May Day last year, the military representative called on us to restore the No. 1 kiln which had lain idle for five years. I got my brigade together and we volunteered for the job. I really don't know where I drew my courage. But you see, we turned out a smart job. On July 1, the kiln started to work. Four kilns working all together! The Japanese never dared to try, yet we did it. What a marvel! We all felt as though we had been re-born."

Chang Yi-yuan smiled proudly. He led me round the No. 1 kiln and gave me a piece of coloured glass. Through the holes of the kiln I saw the raw meal squirling. "By the end of this month, we will have produced in this factory in 11 months as much cement as was turned out in four years and three months by the Japanese and KMT

combined," he told me and added, "Do you see my point of view now?" he asked; "In our neighbourhood, a new textile factory is going up. There is no question of starvation and unemployment now. More and more workers will get new jobs."

"What about your wages?" "No question," he said, "I live much better now. With the wage I earn I can buy two and half times the goods that I could before. It is not only enough to feed my family of three, but it gives me the chance to save a little."

He took me to his home, ten minutes' walk from the factory, one of a row of neat brick cottages that was formerly reserved for the technicians and higher office workers. Formerly, the manual workers had to live in hovels in the nearby village.

The management has built 80 new dwellings for married workers and, in addition, there are special quarters for unmarried workers, with a canteen and bathrooms.

We were warmly welcomed by Chang Yi-yuan's wife who made us a meal, including meat and food made of good flour. The house was neat and cosy with a dining room that is also used as a living room, a bedroom and a kitchen. He told me that the rent, electricity and piped water were all free of charge. In addition, the management had supplied them with furniture.

As I entered the door, his little son aged about eight was leaning against a table, reciting lessons. Chang told me his son was studying at the primary school, jointly run by the factory and the railway centre. Schooling is free. I noticed a new coat hanging on the wall of the living room. Chang bought it last month out of his savings.

He later took me to the factory clinic where both the workers and their families enjoy free medical care, to the co-operative where they can buy daily necessities at

reduced prices, the small library and their club, all built since liberation, Chang told me. The factory dramatic group was well-known in the surrounding villages. It has even given performances of two plays, written by the workers themselves, in the Peking Working People's Palace of Culture.

Warrior's Heart

"Do you see now why I volunteered?" he asked. "Under the KMT no man in his right mind would volunteer to fight. But I've got something to fight for now. I'm a free man. If I die to keep war away from my country, I'll die proudly.

"Mind you, it took me some time to decide. I did not give much thought to what was happening in Korea till recently. I did not think it was my business. And I just could not believe the Americans were so inhuman.

"But then they crossed the 38th Parallel and more and more evidence came of how they were wiping out old and young, men, woman and children. I heard of the attacks on our own Northeast, my blood began to boil.

"Even then, I still thought my place was here in the factory, pushing up production. I've been elected a model worker. Our cement has helped to rebuild the railways all the way from Mukden to Canton. Much of the materials used to widen and beautify the roads in Peking and build new sewers come from here. I'm not a youngster and I thought, so long as my production chart goes up, I'm doing my share.

"Then the Americans started knifing towards our borders. We read the statement of our Foreign Minister Chou En-lai and discussed it. We began to realise how serious things were.

"We held a meeting in our factory. I know all the lads. I know what goes on in their minds. Feng cheng-sheng, who is a young Communist, was first to get up and speak. 'The factory belongs to us, workers. It is our rice-bowl,' he said. 'The whole country is ours. Where is this fighting going to

end? Shall we wait till they start bombing us here? What I have, what we all have, and what we are today, our life, work, studies, training, our homes, are all due to Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party. As a Communist, it is my duty to go to Korea. We must stop the fighting there. We must have peace to build up our country.'

"Su Shang-wu of the boiler department spoke next. His life was a hard one in the old days. He was a poor peasant. The landlord put his mother and brother in prison and only let them out on condition Su went into the army. Su said, 'I've been beaten and insulted enough. We can't have the old kind of life back again. It breaks my heart to see what they're doing to the Koreans. I know how to handle a gun, and a machine gun too, and other weapons. I'm a good shot. And if I die, I'll die willingly to safeguard our new, good life.'

"Next came young Tsao Yang. He had been the most cunning draft dodger I've ever known. 'I used to run away from any fighting,' he admitted. 'But this time I want to run right into it. I never want to have hide again. I know what I'm doing. I want to go, even if I have to get killed so that the American money bags are kept out.'

"What impressed me most was when our foreman, Yang Mou, got up. He's 31 and has eight people in his family dependent on him. All the bitterness of his past life came out as he spoke and you could hear a pin drop. He had been a child worker in a knitwear factory. At 18, he was conscripted into the Japanese puppet police force. He ran away and finally became an apprentice fireman in our boiler room. He once fell asleep through overwork and was handcuffed, made to kneel on a piece of wood and hold another piece of wood above his head while a Japanese lashed his bare back with a whip, threatening from time to time to shoot him.

"Yang said quietly, 'I would rather die myself now, so that my

family can remain free, so that all our workers and our factory can be protected, so that all our people can be protected. I think all workers, even those that have not volunteered for individual considerations, have the same opinion.'

"I tell you it shook me, I went home and that night I could hardly sleep. I kept thinking of the grand life that we were beginning to live and how it was all threatened by the American imperialist war.

"In the morning I read in the paper the statement of all the democratic parties of the country. That settled it for me. I told my wife I wanted to go to Korea. To my joy, she said she understood. She even seemed proud of me. She said she would find work in the textile mill and keep the home going. I went straight to the trade union centre and registered as a volunteer."

Not everyone in this factory has volunteered to go to Korea. Some have over-riding family or other good reasons. And not all that volunteered will be able to get away. But I had found the answers to the question that was in my mind when I went down to this important cement works — what made up the fine spirit of this factory, with its unusual production record, its model workers, its large number of volunteers.



Slogans around the factory that expressed this spirit caught my attention as I took a final look round. In the boiler room was the pledge: "We will work in with the kilns to achieve our new targets. We guarantee not a single drop of oil will be wasted. No breakdowns, major or minor." In the courtyard was a sign: "The kilns are our cannons, the mills our machine guns. The faster they turn, the more the enemy trembles," and at the gate, the slogan that is now a common sight everywhere in China: "STOP THE AMERICANS, HELP THE KOREANS AND SAFEGUARD OUR HOMES!"

PEOPLE'S CHINA

Chinese and Koreans Fought the Japanese Too

Chang Chao

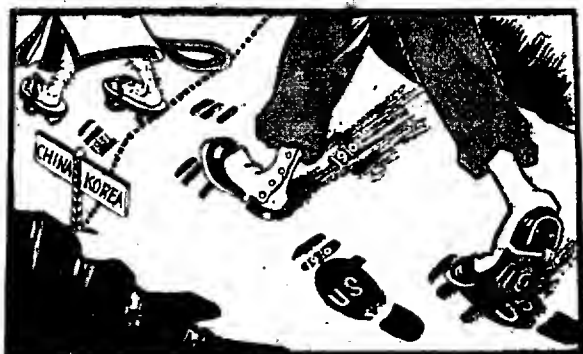
This is not the first time that Korean and Chinese patriots have battled together against invaders of their countries. Their joint guerrilla warfare was a thorn in the side of the Mikado's armies throughout the 1931-45 Japanese invasion of China.

After Korea was annexed by the Japanese in 1905, thousands of Korean patriots and revolutionaries found sanctuary in China. And when the imperial armies pushed on into Mukden on Sept. 18, 1931,

in a widespread rear organisation and reserve for mobile guerrilla warfare. By the end of 1932, the movement had recovered from its early defeats. It became a force that pinned down large enemy forces until the day of Japan's final defeat. A year after its formal inauguration in 1936, the AJUDA had three Route Armies 90,000 strong, in which the Korean patriots played an outstanding role. Kim Il-sung was once a Divisional Commander. Kim Tze

and Korean lumbermen of the Changpai forests, it interfered continually with Japanese timber shipments and permanently engaged a large Japanese punitive force.

It was from among the men of this Army that General Kim Il-sung in 1936 led his Sixth Division to carry the struggle over the border into North Korea. When Yang Ching-yu, commander of the First Army, was killed in action, the Army rallied around General Kim Il-sung. The First Army was in being and harassing the Japanese to the end of the war. Under General Kim's leadership, underground revolutionary work was organised in the vital centres of Japanese rule in Korea so that when the Soviet Armies launched their liberation offensive, against the Japanese in Northeast China and Korea, the Korean people's movement was able, along with the Northeast volunteers, to give substantial assistance to the Soviet forces and establish the people's rule in the liberated areas.



those in the Northeast were among the first to take up arms in defence of their adopted country. In those first few months they joined the revolt of the Chinese population of the Chientao district; they cut the Tunghwa-Kirin Railway. At Kai-yuan, they destroyed the Japanese police headquarters. But in those early days, the Northeast guerrillas were poorly organised and had little military knowledge. Betrayed by the KMT government, they suffered heavy defeats. Some detachments were wiped out to a man. Those that survived were forced to separate into small groups based in remote areas—the Forest and Mountain Detachments.

It was out of these unco-ordinated bands that the Chinese Communist Party forged the heroic Anti-Japanese United Democratic Armies (the AJUDA) and gradually enrolled the masses of the people

was Political Commissar of the Third Route Army. Many other divisional commanders and commissars were also Koreans.

The famous Roek Guerrilla Detachment, predecessor of the First Route Army based in Liaoning Province, was led by Li

Hung-kwang, an outstanding Korean Communist who later met his death in battle. As the First Route Army, with Li as its Chief-of-Staff, it inflicted heavy punishment on the Japanese in the Po Li River area. Its fame spread. Many Northeast railway workers joined it and became noted experts at railway demolition work. On more than one occasion it carried operations up to the very walls of Mukden, the main Japanese-held city, and finally became so troublesome to the invaders that the imperial staff in the autumn of 1937 decided to destroy it in a major campaign with over 7,000 crack troops.

The First Route Army suffered heavily, but 400 survivors broke through the encirclement and retreated to the banks of the Yalu River on Korea's border. From this new base, aided by tough Chinese

In Kirin's eastern mountains, Korean revolutionaries formed the basic core of the East Manchurian Guerrilla Detachment. Later, joined with the guerrilla detachments which had been forced to retreat from central area of Northeast China, they formed the Second AJUDA Route Army, a force that became noted for its intrepid raids on Japanese communications. It was the fear of this close and effective co-operation between the two peoples that decided the Japanese command to wipe out the whole guerrilla area. On the basis of its notorious "Three-All Policy" of "Kill All, Burn All, Loot All!" villages suspected of hiding guerrillas were razed to the ground. The men folk were killed or driven off to slave labour on the northern

fortifications. Women and children were herded into stockaded concentration camps or sold as slaves to factories or houses of prostitution. On the approach of Japanese troops, whole villages fled from their homes to the hills and forests. The guerrillas, however, were ineradicable, for they were the immortal people. They turned retreats into advances. Hard pressed in China, in 1943, with their gallant commander and political commissar killed, the 2nd Army despatched the Korean comrades under their commander Ching Tse-tseng into Korea, where they engaged the Japanese garrisons until the end of the war.

Thousands of Koreans were among the more than 150,000 fighters of the AJUDA units and militiamen who, after 14 years of constant battle, co-operated in the advance of the Soviet Armies against the Japanese and celebrated V-J Day under victorious arms.

When the war ended, many of those Korean comrades returned to their own liberated land while others planned to stay in the Northeast. Under the People's Government, they received their share of land under the land reform and began their lives anew. But still another trial awaited them.

The United Democratic Armies of the Northeast and the People's Government were in effective control of the strategic Northeast. The Kuomintang, aided and instigated by the Americans, poured in troops by ship and plane to wipe out the people's forces and restore the Chiang dictatorship. The people's forces fought back. Chinese and Korean guerrillas put on their uniforms again. In the ensuing War of Liberation, Koreans and Chinese fought side by side on every major battlefield of the Northeast and many Korean democrats later aided the PLA on its

victorious advance from North to South China.

Throughout Korea and China and in Northeast China especially, this comradeship-in-arms of the two peoples has left an ineffaceable tradition. "We two peoples are as close as lips and teeth," say the peasants of the Yalu valleys. The legendary tales of the campaigns are common to both sides of the border. The people of the Northeast are as proud of their Korean heroes as of their own.

If the American invaders in Korea still want to know what kind of people they are trying to suppress, they would do well to read the history of the campaign of the AJUDA. Its fighters, men and women, gave countless examples of heroism. Many of the girl fighters whose tragic story is told in the film "Daughters of China" were Koreans. The Korean heroine Kim Tong-san could lay mines as well as she could sew. She derailed many enemy trains. Now she is a labour heroine in production. Out-numbered ten to one, the Korean commander Li Kwang-lin and his men fought to their last bullet and then with their bare hands until not a man remained alive. Nameless, because all her family had been wiped out by the Japanese, a Korean girl singer and dancer of the Chientao region People's Entertainment Troupe fell into the Japanese hands. Even under threat of death, this eight-year-old child refused to betray her friends and perished shouting the slogan "Down with the Japanese imperialists!"

The battles against the Japanese invaders and the U.S.-supported Chiang Kai-shek clique were by no means the only time Korean and Chinese democrats fought side by side. Korean revolutionaries, like the Korean people in general, have for centuries regarded China with a special feeling of kinship. Since

the enslavement of their own country by Japan, they have looked to China's liberation as the herald of their own. Korean revolutionaries took part in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, in the Northern Expedition of the Great Revolution in 1925-27 and in the struggles of the Agrarian Revolution. But it was in the joint battles against the Japanese and Chiang-American forces that they built up those especially close relations of mutual regard that have become an example of revolutionary internationalism in the Asian peoples' struggle for freedom from a common imperialist foe.

These two peoples have learned well the lessons of those times. Fourteen years of struggle taught them the need and invincibility of unity. Peasants of the Yalu River valleys say: "If the lips are gone, the teeth will suffer from the cold." So the people of the Northeast needed no urging when the new invasion of Korea threatened the freedom of their neighbours and their own hearths and homes. Followed by the rest of the Chinese people, they have volunteered in their tens of thousands for service with the Korean People's Army.

Such are the present opponents of the American invaders in Korea. They will not be cowed by atrocities, such as the U.S. forces and their puppets are now perpetrating. They have been steelled in battles with a foe just as atrocious. In addition, the guerrillas of yesterday are now armed with weapons as good as those of their enemies. But neither technique nor terror will decide this war. The men behind the weapons will do that. The joint struggles of the Korean and Chinese people in the past show the quality of the fighters who man the jets and rocket-guns that are decimating the latest invaders of Asia's mainland.



A LETTER FROM A RETURNED STUDENT

Dear Editor,

This morning I volunteered to fight against the American invaders in Korea. Thousands have volunteered before me and still more will do so in the future. Many are already fighting on the battlefield.

I am one of the many students who have recently returned from the United States. I always loved my country, but never have I loved it so much as I do now, after having seen the many wonderful changes which have taken place during my absence.

The first people I met in New China were a group of sailors on the tugboat that took me from the freighter to the wharf at Taku Bar. How they welcomed me back! They said to me, "We are constructing a new country. Here is your chance. Make good use of what you have learned in the university."

Then they went on to tell me about their life after liberation. "Yes," remarked one sailor, "you will be surprised to find how many things have changed in so short a time."

"I have an extremely large family to support," said another, "but now even our family can live happily. . . . You know," he continued, "this month we decided to unload twice as much as before and we are working doubly hard to overfulfil our target."

One of the sailors handed me a book on the history of the Chinese revolution. "This is our textbook. Besides the literacy classes, we read and discuss this book and have sessions of criticism and self-criticism to improve our political consciousness."

On the train from Taku Bar to Tientsin, I sat next to an old peasant and his grand-daughter. All the way he kept commenting on the

crops on both sides of the track. "See how well the *kaoliang* has grown. A few more rainless days and this will surely be a bumper crop. The PLA have done it again, you know," he said to me. "They cleared away the ruins of the KMT fortresses, ploughed the field, dug an irrigation canal, and planted the seeds — all in three days. . . ."

Fearing that perhaps I wasn't interested, his grand-daughter explained, "Grandpa used to curse the troops — the Japs, the Americans, the KMT gangsters, and a lot of others whose names I don't remember. But how he loves to talk about the PLA!"

The old man smiled and went on: "Why shouldn't I talk about the PLA? Several years ago, I was one of the coolies drafted to work on this road. Now I ride on it — a thing I wouldn't even dare dream of before. Last winter in the land reform my two sons each got five *mow* of land. Now we are doing fine. We can afford to go to Tientsin to see your Third Uncle — he's doing well as a factory hand in the No. 7 Mill of the China Textile Corporation. Eh, can I talk too much about our liberators?"

Here in Peking the transformation is remarkable. I have a feeling that the whole city pulsates with new life. The cadres who work harder than everyone else live more simply than others. Then there are the workers who work from morning till night in every part of the city clearing away the rubbish left through decades of neglect. New streetcars . . . new roads . . . new people. Above all, there was the mammoth October 1st parade in which the whole city joined to celebrate the National Day. Can there be any doubt that a new country has been born?

As a newcomer to Peking, I constantly feel the urge to ask myself: Was it like this before? Have I ever seen a Chinese city

without a single beggar as today in Peking? Have I ever picked up a newspaper and read articles by high ranking officials which go into serious and detailed self-criticism as in the *People's Daily*? I could go on indefinitely asking myself such questions. And the answer — always a simple NO.

As for the "American way of life" I witnessed, my main impressions are of jobless young men sitting on park benches, weary-looking workers reading comic strips in subways, drunks inside a bar hovering around a television set watching some stupid or corrupting program, and schoolboys gossiping to each other about Superman and western cowboys.

Today no people are so hated by the Chinese as the American imperialists. Ask the man on the street what he thinks of the American invaders and he will tell you in no uncertain terms. Often you will find he himself or his friends or relatives have suffered through American business dealings, bombs or troops. But even more is his hatred directed against the American imperialists for the fact that they will not let us alone to get on with our peaceful construction.

Three months of life in New China have given me a new strength and new faith in my country. Like all my countrymen, I feel now that this country is ours. No one is going to destroy it. We will fight for the beautiful future before us.

Dear Editor, I am leaving for the Korean front in a few days. There I may fight Will, Bob and other American boys whom I knew as friends in the States. But do I hesitate? No. I'll fight them to the bitter end, so long as they serve as the tools of an imperialism which threatens to plunder and enslave our country.

Sincerely yours,

P. W. LIN

Peking, November 16, 1950.



CURRENT CHINA

Nov. 11 — 25, 1950



World Peace Congress

The Chinese delegation to the World Peace Congress in Warsaw issued on Nov. 24 a statement on behalf of their country, pledging full support for the Congress Manifesto, the new World Peace Council and its proposals to the U.N.

The five proposals of the Chinese people's peace mandate were submitted to the Congress by Kuo Mo-jo, head of the Chinese delegation, in his warmly applauded speech to the Congress on Nov. 18.

The Congress proceedings have been widely publicised in China. Democratic parties and popular organisations all sent greetings to the Congress and also protested to the British government which prevented the Congress from being held in Sheffield.

The collection of signatures for the Stockholm appeal, which wound up in China on the day of the opening of the Congress, reached a total of 223,739,545 or over 47 per cent of the whole population of China.

Service Teams for Korea

Accusation meetings against the American aggressors have been held by people in factories, villages, schools and institutions throughout China. Letters are pouring in to the editorial offices of the leading newspapers from workers, professors, housewives, wounded soldiers and returned students from the U.S.A. From their own experiences, they denounce U.S. brutalities witnessed during the KMT days and expose the aggressive nature of American imperialism.

Meanwhile, non-combatant service teams of blood donors, stretcher bearers, nurses and entertainers are being organised by workers and students in Peking, Changchun and other places for volunteer duties in Korea.

The Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and against

Wu Hsiu-chuan in New York

Wu Hsiu-chuan, special delegate of China to the U.N. meeting, arrived in New York on Nov. 24, with his adviser Chiao Kuan-hua and seven members of the delegation. The Chinese delegate will be present to discuss his country's charge of American aggression in Taiwan and also the Soviet charge of U.S. aggression against China.

On arrival Wu expressed the hope that China's charge "will receive just treatment in the Security Council. If so, it will be helpful to peace and security in the Pacific and in Asia."

American Aggression is daily receiving contributions for the KPA and the Chinese people's volunteers—huge numbers of gift parcels containing towels, socks, gloves, cigarettes, soap and other articles. Young Pioneers of Nanking are contributing their pocket money to buy a tank for the volunteers.

Japanese War Criminals

The Chinese People's Government has received from the Soviet Government a copy of its Nov. 19 Note to the U.S.A. protesting against the unwarranted release of arch-war criminal Mamoru Shigemitsu. Foreign Minister Chou En-lai in a statement issued on Nov. 23 supported the just stand of the Soviet government. He stated that the U.S. government will be held fully responsible for all consequences resulting from MacArthur's unauthorised release of Japanese war criminals.

French Air Intrusions

During the 61 days from Sept. 1 to Oct. 31, a total of 120 French planes intruded into China's territorial air on 50 occasions in the region of the frontier areas of the three provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Yunnan, bordering on Viet-Nam, says a statement by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs published on Nov. 23. French land forces made 13 incursions into Chinese territory during the same period. According to incomplete data, 33 Chinese citizens were killed and 20 severely injured by the raiding of French planes and attack of the French land forces.

The statement also revealed that between Dec. 14, 1949, and Aug. 31, 1950, French land forces crossed into Chinese territory on 25 occasions while the French air forces made 18 incursions. There were 37 casualties, over 14 of which were fatal.

The spokesman stated that the French government must bear full responsibility for these savage acts; that the Chinese people's defence forces have been ordered to deal heavy counter blows to the intruders and that the government has lodged a firm protest with the French government, reserving the right to demand compensation for the losses sustained and to make other relevant demands.

INTERNATIONAL

Tsai Chang, president of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, cabled French Premier Plevin protesting against the illegal trial of Mme. Cotton, Vice-Chairman of the World Peace Congress and Chairman of the WIDF.

Young people in the major cities of China marked World Youth Day on Nov. 10 and International Students' Day on Nov. 17 with intensified activities against U.S. aggression and in defence of world peace.

Patriotic Emulation Drive

A nation-wide patriotic emulation drive is surging through the factories of China. The campaign, initiated by model worker Chao Kuo-yu of the No. 3 Machine Tool factory, is the workers' answer to American aggressions in Korea and the Northeast.

In Northeast China, the 200,000 railway workers have pledged themselves to fulfil all transport assignment under all conditions. Responding to the challenge, workers of the Mukden Telecommunications Administration have guaranteed speedier and more accurate service under all conditions.

Workers in a Tientsin electric furnace shop have overfulfilled their production plan for the year by 7 per cent two months ahead of schedule. Together with other Tientsin workers, they have written to Chairman Mao expressing their deep anger at America's aggressions and their determination to do their part to defeat the enemy.

The coke furnace workers of Taiyuan have created a new record by completing 180 per cent of their production schedule for October. They have challenged other factories in Taiyuan to a friendly competition. The Shanghai Electrical Appliances Plant fulfilled this year's production plan for transformers by the end of October. It has now already overfulfilled the plan by 11 per cent.

Here and There

The All-China Conference on Dramatic Arts opened in Peking on Nov. 25 to discuss the reform of the Chinese classical opera. An Exhibition of Theatrical Art opened on the same day.

A movement is spreading through the universities in Peking to boycott the "Voice of America" as a source of rumours and slanders. Meanwhile, Lavrenyev's play *Voice of America* has had its first performance in Peking.

A Soviet cultural delegation led by N. Golosen, Vice-President of the Arts Committee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and R. Gulamoz, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Minister of the Uzbek

Soviet Socialist Republic, arrived in China on Nov. 21 to exchange experiences with Chinese workers in the fields of literature and art.

Stalin's article *Concerning Marxism in Linguistics* was discussed here recently at a meeting sponsored by the Academia Sinica.

Land Reform Under Way

During the slack farming season in the next few months, land reform — including the taking over of land from the landlord and distributing it among the peasantry — will take place over a big part of China, including a total rural population of over 100 million people. Preparations are well under way, as shown in the reports from two major areas.

East China

In the four and a half months since the new Land Reform Law, cadres both in the countryside and towns have worked hard to master its principles and prepare to apply it. It has been received with the deepest approval and enthusiasm.

Experiments in 370 *hsiang* (each comprises several villages) have provided valuable experience of the problems likely to arise.

Peasant associations, the executive organs for the carrying through of land reform, have been playing a leading part in building up a broad anti-feudal united front. Not only farm labourers and poor peasants, but middle peasants, poor intellectuals and all other democratic elements are drawn in.

Land reform committees to guide the work have been set up in each administrative unit, from the county upwards, with representatives of all democratic classes and parties. People's tribunals are established to administer justice, should any die-hard landlord attempt to sabotage. A telephone network links every county with the higher administrative organs.

Over 100,000 cadres are ready to weigh in, after intensive training in policy and practice, including both local cadres, familiar with their localities, and experts in the details of policy and the law.

University and middle school students of Shanghai, Nanking, Hangchow and other cities have enlisted by the thousand to join

in the work during their winter vacation. Actors, drama teams, writers, cartoonists and troubadours from all centres in the area are preparing to join the villagers and play their part in helping the peasantry to ward off the 3,000 years of landlord oppression.

By March, 1951, some 50 million rural folk will have the first experience of the great benefits of this movement. Added to the parts of East China where land reform has already been completed, this will mean that between 80 to 86 per cent of the rural population in East China will be free of the restrictive feudal landownership system.

Northwest China

In the newly liberated Northwest, land distribution will take place in an area with 7,600,000 people, mainly in the fertile Central Shensi plain and part of Kansu and Ningsia.

Peasant associations in the area have grown to a total membership of 800,000. They have gained strength in the course of establishing social order and applying social reforms during the past months, including wiping out the KMT remnants, exposing local despots and reducing rents.

Some 15,000 cadres — young intellectuals as well as peasant leaders — have completed one to three months' training, studying the relevant laws and policy, including the Decisions Concerning the Differentiation of Class Status in the Countryside.

INTO THE BOOTS OF JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

(Continued from Page 11)

the mainland from 1945 to 1949, the American imperialists lavished over US\$6,000,000,000 on the Chiang regime. It was the Pentagon's plan to equip 75 divisions of Chiang Kai-shek's forces by 1950. The United States had fully armed 64 divisions, 18 special road police columns, 20 security police regiments, and one paratroop corps before the end of January, 1947. Under a single agreement of June 28, 1946, the U.S. undertook to furnish Chiang with over a thousand planes, 7,000 field guns and other military equipment. And as late as November, 1949, under a secret agreement with the Chiang remnants on Taiwan, the U.S. was still undertaking to furnish equipment for five divisions of puppet troops, together with 16 war vessels, radar equipment and additional planes while another US\$150,000,000 of "economic aid" was granted.

More Kicks Than Halfpence — Acheson

Such "assistance," however, had to be paid for. And Chiang, in his turn, was lavish with property and rights of the Chinese people. Under the Sino-American Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation of November 4, 1946, the Americans were given a stranglehold on China's economy, through their control of customs' legislation, rights of inland navigation and of investment. U.S. control was further extended to China's air through arrangements for the extension of U.S. air lines under the Sino-American Air Transport Agreement. Military bases dominating China and threatening the USSR were also pledged to the U.S. So far as he was able, Chiang Kai-shek obediently turned China into a colony of the USA, putting its vast resources of manpower and natural wealth at their disposal to further their aggressive expansionist schemes of world domination in Asia.

These vast imperialist schemes, however, were overturned by the democratic Chinese people. Despite the aid of their U.S. advisers, the 8,000,000 American-equipped troops of Chiang Kai-shek were routed by the People's Liberation Army in a series of brilliant campaigns. Huge quantities of U.S. arms were captured to equip the people's forces.

The American imperialists no longer bother to maintain the fiction of their non-intervention in the civil war in China. Acheson in his notorious White Paper excuses his own failure by opining that "the failure of the Chinese Nationalist Government . . . does not stem from inadequacy of American aid." He admits that the Chiang regime was too rotten to save. It "had lost the popular support," Acheson says euphemistically. He might have added that the Chinese people repudiated the Chiang regime as it was a corrupt tool of American imperialism.

As Acheson wrote to Truman on July 30, 1949, "the ominous result of the civil war in China

was beyond the control of the Government of the United States." If the American imperialists had drawn the logical conclusion from the catastrophe in China, they would indeed have "pulled out lock, stock and barrel." But the logic of the imperialists is not the logic of the people.

Their defeat has set them seeking new and even more adventurous means of regaining their lost positions in Asia.

Realising that the Central People's Government enjoys the fullest confidence and support of the people and has established a strong, efficient and stable regime that prevents the success of any plots initiated inside continental China, the U.S. expansionists have reverted to the old imperialist policy of encirclement. This was tried, and failed, against the young USSR, but, given a new name today — "containment" — it is now being tried again, this time against a vast area that includes no less than half the world's population.

With this aim in view, the American imperialists have helped to establish a string of puppet regimes around China's borders — the Syngman Rhee clique in Korea, the Yoshida Government in Japan, Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan, the "phantom Emperor" Bao Dai in Indo-China, Phibul Songram in Siam and Quirino in the Philippines.

The Place to Begin is Korea — Acheson

Developing this strategy and in an attempt to strengthen and even advance these exterior lines, the U.S. launched the attack on the Korean people on June 25, through the hands of its puppet Syngman Rhee. Two days later, it announced that its Seventh Fleet had been despatched to prevent the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese People's Army. Their defeats in Korea increased the desperation of the Wall Street imperialists. They became even more open and reckless in adventures which previously they had tried to camouflage.

They did not even trouble to get a U.N. "resolution" to cover their intervention in Taiwan, and their aggression becomes daily more open. American news agencies report that in addition to the 250 U.S. tanks sent to Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan (reported on Jan. 3, 1950), further supplies including air force units have been sent and large numbers of "retired" American officers are arriving together with some 4,000 Japanese experts under the command of the war criminal Hiroshi Nemoto, recently released by MacArthur. MacArthur, who appears to consider himself imperialist America's Man of Destiny in Asia, already speaks of Taiwan as "an integral part of American defence in the Pacific."

But in addition to these provocative acts of occupying an island province that is by history and solemn international agreements indisputably regarded as Chinese, the Truman Administration has now carried its aggression in Korea up to the very borders of China and beyond. A spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Chinese People's Government has listed no less than 88 plus 28 viola-

tions of the air frontiers of the People's Republic of China between November 10 and 14. In these raids, bombs and machine-gunning have killed and wounded scores of Chinese citizens and destroyed considerable property. The statements of American commanders and official spokesmen have become more and more provocative and aggressive. A spokesman of MacArthur expresses doubts whether the Yalu is really the natural boundary between Korea and China; MacArthur himself talks darkly about the volunteers from China having a "bomb-free base."

We have seen that Marshall, once again recalled to active planning in the U.S. headquarters, and other U.S. warmongers know well the importance of the northeastern provinces to China's economy and security. General Wedemeyer, after Marshall's departure from China, stressed this again when in his report to Truman of September, 1947, he proposed that these Chinese provinces be detached and placed under the trusteeship of the U.S.-dominated United Nations. This report was suppressed at the time for fear of the unfavourable reactions of world opinion, but the American ambitions it too brazenly expressed have, far from being suppressed, been encouraged in the highest circles among Wall Street's agents in Washington.

The Progress of Imperialism — Acheson

Today the movements of American expansion in Asia are making the Chinese people and political commentators throughout the world recall to mind the dictums first expressed in the notorious Tanaka Memorial to the Japanese Emperor that was disclosed in 1927: "to conquer the world, Japan must first conquer Asia; and to conquer Asia, Japan must first conquer China; to conquer China, Japan must first conquer Manchuria; to conquer Manchuria, Japan must first conquer Korea. . . ." It requires no great effort of imagination to read America for Japan and see how the cap fits.

The U.S. imperialists in the post-war world have shown themselves to be the arch enemy of the Chinese people. They have not scrupled to use the most reactionary, corrupt and bloody instruments in their attempts to dominate China. In their new attempt to interfere and retard China's peaceful construction by direct aggression against Taiwan and the Northeast, they have once again called to aid the putrid remnants of the Chiang regime and the foulest reactionaries in Asia and among the Japanese fascists.

The fact that imperialist America still attempts to disguise her aggressions against Taiwan, Korea and China's Northeast with the cloak of illegal U.N. decisions cannot deceive the Chinese people who are grown wise to such deceptions. They have already solemnly warned these aged Caesars seeking Asian empires. Warnings, however, have failed to make the aggressor pause. Chinese volunteers fighting in the ranks of the KPA have already dealt heavy blows to the aggressor. This has had a somewhat sobering effect on the warmongers. But if more

such lessons are needed, there is no doubt that the Korean and Chinese people, supported by the mighty democratic peace camp, headed by the Soviet Union, will know what to do.

CHINA'S VOICE AT WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

(Continued from Page 7)

people. But they are oppressed and threatened by the American imperialists.

Enough of this — we will say no more about these "great favours," for they are countless and we could not record them all.

But, for the sake of comparison, let me also mention something of our impressions of the Soviet Union.

Immediately after the victory of the Great October Revolution, the Soviet Union voluntarily proclaimed null and void all unequal treaties concluded with China by the tsarist government and showed constant sympathy for our people's liberation struggle. On the very day following the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Soviet Union established friendly relations with her. Subsequently, a Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was concluded for the purpose of jointly preventing imperialist aggression in the East, for the joint defence of world peace and security and for unreserved mutual assistance in the economic and cultural fields on the basis of equality and reciprocity.

Are these comparisons not clear enough? The Soviet Union helps the Chinese people while the United States of America helps the butcher, Chiang Kai-shek. The Soviet Union unites with China to prevent the revival of Japanese imperialism, while the United States goes all out to revive this imperialism in order to attack us. The Soviet Union helps us in our peaceful construction while the United States seizes our island of Taiwan, invades our neighbours, threatens our security and destroys peace in Asia to prevent our peaceful construction. The Soviet Union in every way supports the seating of our delegates to the United Nations. The United States hampers it in every way.

At the United Nations General Assembly, the Soviet Union submits peace proposals while the United States utilises the United Nations for effecting aggression. The Soviet Union is changing nature with the help of atomic energy, whereas the United States threatens the entire human race with the atom bomb.

We Chinese people love peace. The fact that 223,500,000 people in China have already signed the Stockholm Appeal testifies to this. But precisely because we love peace, we resolutely oppose aggression.

The American imperialists are rendering all-out assistance to Chiang Kai-shek. Although they have suffered defeat in China, they do not want to turn this lesson to good account. They continue as before to threaten peace in the East and West. We peoples of the East, defending the cause of peace, do not yield to the aggressors. We cannot step aside and

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remain indifferent to the sufferings of the Korean people. For the purpose of defending Asia and world peace, we must carry the struggle against American aggression to a successful conclusion.

The Chinese people fully support the convocation of the Second World Peace Congress. The Chinese delegation fully agrees with the proposals contained in the report made by the president of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress, Joliot-Curie, particularly those concerning the United Nations.

This agency, set up after the Second World War for safeguarding peace and the security of nations, has now become a screen behind which aggressors violate peace. The United Nations Charter has come to mean just so much paper. The principle of unanimity in the Security Council is also undermined. This is precisely why the United Nations has lost its prestige. We hope that the United Nations will be able to regain its prestige, to free itself from the domination of the American imperialists, and that it will work justly and conscientiously for the benefit and security of peace-loving peoples the world over instead of doing just the opposite.

To achieve this, it is necessary to observe the United Nations Charter, the principle of the unanimity of the five great Powers, and to repeal all unlawful decisions which violate the Charter and the unanimity principle. Representatives of the five great Powers must include the legal representative of the 475 million people of the Chinese People's Republic, not a pseudo-representative who is the representative of the Kuomintang gang and a mere handful of people.

We hope that the United Nations will be able speedily to take the necessary steps to achieve this purpose.

If eventually the United Nations is unable to justify these hopes, we shall not stand by with folded arms and watch peace throughout the world being threatened and violated. We Chinese people want to take more effective measures to safeguard world peace and the security of nations together with the British, American, French, Italian, Soviet, Polish, Viet-Nameese, Korean, Mongolian and all other peace-loving peoples of the world.

The Chinese people have instructed our delegation to put forward five proposals at this Congress. These are:

1. To end the aggression of the United States and other countries in Korea; to demand the withdrawal of all the troops of foreign aggressors from Korea; to realise a peaceful settlement of the Korean question which is the central problem in the present struggle for world peace.

2. To demand an immediate end to all and every interference by the United States in the liberation of Taiwan Island by the Chinese people.

3. To demand that MacArthur be branded a war instigator. He is the main organiser of aggression in the Far East and the main instigator for converting the war in Korea into world war.

4. Resolutely to oppose the use of atomic weapons and other types of weapons of mass annihilation, and to demand that the government which is the first to use atomic weapons be regarded as a war criminal, and be punished.

5. To demand that all states simultaneously reduce armaments, to establish effective control of this program; and to suggest that the peoples of the various countries render mutual assistance in economic and cultural construction under conditions of peaceful co-existence.

The fate of Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo is still fresh in our memory. Although those who cultivate the fascist plague have a short memory, the peoples of the world have not forgotten. Those who oppose the people are always punished by the people, and those whose crimes against the people are doubly grave will be doubly punished. Those who, at one and the same time, want to pursue the criminal ambitions of both Nazi Germany and Mikado Japan will receive from the people a punishment as great as that meted out to Nazi Germany and Mikado Japan combined.

For a lasting world peace!

Down with the instigators of another war and imperialist aggressors!

Long live the great unity of the peace-loving peoples of all countries!

THE "SUN OF HAPPINESS" IS RISING IN TIBET *(Continued from Page 9)*

on the local authorities in Tibet by Colonel Young-husband's bayonets and to begin negotiations with the central government in China. By the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907, Britain undertook not to interfere in Tibet's internal affairs or to try to secure concessions or privileges there and to conduct her relations with Tibet in future only through China.

Of course, this did not stop Britain from continuing her intrigue. She took advantage of the infant Chinese Republic after the 1911 Revolution and later of the corrupt Kuomintang regime to extend her position in Tibet. She erected telegraph lines, took control over the postal service, kept garrison troops at Gyangtze and Yatung and from 1936 onwards stationed a political mission permanently in Lhasa. For the people, the result was heavier taxes, higher prices and the maintenance in position of the most reactionary rulers.

In 1947, Britain formally transferred to India her so-called "rights and obligations" with respect to Tibet. But an Englishman still heads the political mission in Lhasa which is now described as an Indian mission.

America Takes a Hand

In Asia, as in Europe, the American and British imperialists manoeuvred for post-war pickings even while the Soviet Union was pouring out its life and blood to defeat the fascists. In Tibet, while American imperialism left most of the dirty work to their British satellites, it also began to take a direct hand.

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PEOPLE'S CHINA

Agents of the Office of Strategic Services were sent into Tibet during the war to study and make aerial surveys of the territory. In 1943, the Tibetan authorities, at the instigation of the British and Americans, suddenly inaugurated a "Bureau of Foreign Affairs," making it the sole channel of contact for all diplomatic bodies in Lhasa. Both the British mission and the American military mission in Lhasa immediately moved in on this "Bureau." The Chinese officials who were now expected to work through the new channel found themselves in a difficult situation.

As the Chinese People's Liberation Army began to gain victories, the imperialists increased their efforts to cut Tibet off from China. In November, 1947, the imperialists instigated the Tibetans to send out a mission from Lhasa ostensibly to develop trade with the U.S.A. and Great Britain.

Though the great powers had confirmed at the end of the war that Tibet was part of China, this "trade mission" on its arrival in India was accorded the reception usually reserved for diplomatic personnel. It made contacts with American and British officials and made its way to Hongkong. There the American consulate took the unprecedented step of issuing them with visas on the basis of their own, and not Chinese, passports.

The "mission" was received royally in the United States and stayed for over a year there and in Great Britain. The Kuomintang's weak protest at this gross infringement of Chinese sovereignty was brusquely brushed aside and the puppet "mission" returned to Tibet with an aura of independent status. It is perhaps worth noting, as a passing reflection on the importance of its trading activities, that Tibet's total annual foreign trade amounts to no more than two million U.S. dollars.

On July 8, 1949, the Chinese officials were expelled from Tibet. The Chinese government wireless station in Lhasa and Chinese schools were closed down. All Chinese officials and residents were ordered to leave Tibet forthwith. When the news was allowed to come out on July 22, it was accompanied by lurid and contradictory stories of "a Communist revolt."

However, as early as February, information had already leaked out in the British press that a plan to "save Tibet from Communism" was being worked out in Tibetan monasteries; and some time after the event, the London *Times* frankly admitted the truth that allegations of a Communist plot were made to cover up the new moves "to shake off Chinese control."

New British and American agents began to make their appearance in Tibet. Towards the end of the year came the much publicised mission of a certain Lowell Thomas, an American "radio com-

mentator," bringing with him valuable gifts for Tibetan officials.

The value of Thomas' protestations that his was purely the adventurous expedition of a keen explorer may be assessed from several interesting facts. On his way out, he had a talk about his mission with General MacArthur in Tokyo. On its way back from Lhasa, the Thomas party was met in Silguri, on the Indian-Chinese border, by a military plane despatched by the American Embassy in Delhi, and the American Vice Consul Bisbee went to accompany them.

Back in New York, Thomas delivered himself of some rather curious remarks for a non-political explorer. "What the rulers of Tibet want to know," he said on October 17, 1949, "is whether they can get help from the United States now, or in the event of a Communist invasion. If they can get help, they want two things — advisers on guerrilla warfare and more modern weapons."

Reports began to appear in the American press about preparations in the U.S.A. to recognise Tibet as a sovereign and independent state and support its application for membership of the U.N.

In February, a Tibetan delegation set out for Peking to negotiate the peaceful liberation of Tibet, but "According to all sources of information," writes the Peking *People's Daily*, "while the Lhasa delegates were in India, the British High Commissioner in New Delhi, Sir Archibald Nye, and other imperialist elements did their best to persuade the delegation against reaching agreement with the Central People's Government." It was, therefore, not surprising that the Tibetan delegation was unable to secure visas to pass through Hongkong. Nor is it strange, though somewhat ludicrous, that at the U.N. tiny El Salvador, a client state of the U.S.A., should suddenly embrace the cause of the distant giant Tibet. Thus up to the last moment the imperialists and their satellites have continued their intrigues against Tibetan liberation.

In this context, the Central People's Government has expressed China's surprise and regret that the Indian Government should reproach it for taking action that will finally liberate the whole of its mainland territory and free Tibet from foreign imperialist interference and oppression.

In October, in accordance with the principles of the Common Programme of the PPCC, the People's Liberation Army began its advance into Tibet. As in other areas inhabited by national minorities, the strictest respect for local customs is being observed. Regional autonomy, equality for all nationalities and religious freedom is assured to the people. For Tibet the long night is ending. The sun of happiness will shine forth over the land!

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